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NOTES AND NEWS.

THE Vice-Chancellor of the University, Dr. W. H. Moberly (now Sir Walter H. Moberly), in his review of the year's work before the Court of Governors, made the announcement that there had been a steady growth in the number of students, which now for the first time exceeded three thousand. This, said Dr. Moberly, was in some ways gratifying, but it also created problems. There was such a thing as an optimum number, and he thought the University was not far off that point. If that were so the University might have to consider various courses. Would it be necessary to limit numbers or to raise standards? The joint committee of staff and students had continued its work. A statistical inquiry had been held to discover what employments the students wished for and what sort of work past students had obtained. This showed that students in some faculties would meet with distinct difficulties. In principle it had now been decided to form a new body, not an ambitious one, which would be a sort of appointments committee having representatives of business upon it, which could perhaps direct students at times before leaving the University. THE YEAR'S WORK AT MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY.

Changes had been made in the curriculum of the medical school to give greater time for clinical work, and the University had secured the building once occupied by the Radium Institute and would use it as a hostel for twenty students, who would occupy it in their last year.

The Vice-Chancellor also referred to the resignations of several members of the staff, among whom were Professor A. H. Burgess, Professor Maurice A. Canney, Professor Mario Praz, who had been appointed to a Chair in Rome, Dr. G. H.

Carpenter, Keeper of the Museum, and Mrs. Johnson, Chairman of the Delegacy of Ashburne Hall for more than twenty-five years. He also announced the appointment of Dr. Muriel Katherine Pope, Reader in French Philology in the University of Oxford, and Vice-Principal of Somerville College, to the second Chair of French and Romance Languages.

In reviewing the finances of the University Dr. Moberly reported that the local grants had been maintained, with the addition of a new grant of one hundred guineas a year from Blackpool which had not contributed regularly hitherto. A number of benefactions had been received, among which were several connected with the present deputy-treasurer, Mr. Robert McDougall, who had assisted in the provision of a calculation machine which would make possible rather quick results, by mechanical means, of very laborious calculations which had been impossible because of their laboriousness, and important research of a kind which Professor Hartree was competent to do. Mr. McDougall had also put into the hands of the University property whose income would provide bursaries to help students in the faculties of Science or Medicine who found it difficult to complete their courses because of financial difficulty. Dame Sarah Lees had given £1000, which was to be devoted to women students in the same circumstance.

Other gifts were for the Department of Deaf Education, a work of which the University should be proud. No department of this kind existed in any other university in the country. It existed for the training of teachers of the deaf in special deaf schools. It had developed pioneer research which would be of the utmost value, on mechanical aids, the physiology of hearing, and in discrimination of different types of deafness. It was difficult to distinguish in children between those who were mentally deficient and those who appeared to be mentally deficient by reason of deafness. The work had been recognized by grants from the Medical Research Council. A gift of £2000 had been received from the Misses Jones for equipment, and £500 a year for three years from the Leverhulme Trustees.

During the Lent term the University suffered, in the death of Dr. Henry Brierley, the loss of the oldest Associate of Owens

College, and an Honorary Doctor of the University; Professor Peet, who was so recently appointed to the Readership of Egyptology in the University of Oxford, and had acted as Lecturer in Egyptology in the University of Manchester for about fourteen years; and Dr. D. E. Core, who had established himself as an authority in neurology.

A most important development concerned the library. The present building was much overcrowded, and it had become increasingly clear that there could be no satisfactory future for it merely by extending it. It had been decided in principle, therefore, to go forward with the building of a new library in the Lime Grove area. This would not be big enough at first to hold all the books. It was proposed to leave the science books in the Christie Library and to build at first for the accommodation of 180,000 books, with the expectation of making room finally for 300,000. The new building would provide for more room for readers than the library had at present, and it would be so planned that it would fit in with any greater extension or development.

The Vice-Chancellor went on to point out that all these things the University was trying to do were not disconnected, but parts of a plan, not simply architectural, which would unite the two purposes of a university: (1) to attract the best people to important posts and provide conditions in which they would feel happy, and (2) to make the course and life of the ordinary student fruitful. The test would be: "What is meant by a Manchester degree?"

Reference was made to the resignation of Dr. Arthur Worthington from the chairmanship of the Council. Dr. Worthington's association with the Owens College, and with the Manchester University, goes back a long way. For more than forty years his loyalty, affection, and interest have been unfailing, and it is a source of gratification to the University to know that he will continue his membership of the Council, where his experience and his knowledge of University problems will be specially valuable in the plans for building developments, which are under consideration.

The commemoration of Founders' Day at the University, which took place on Wednesday, the 16th of May, was marked by the conferment of honorary degrees upon Mr. Alfred William Flux, C.B., The Earl of Lytton, K.G., Lord Macmillan, Professor H. J. C. Grierson, Professor G. M. Trevelyan, O.M., and Professor A. V. Hill. FOUNDERS' DAY AT THE UNIVERSITY.

The ceremony was conducted by the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Moberly, in the absence of the Chancellor, The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, who had not fully recovered from his recent illness. The Vice-Chancellor, expressing regret at Lord Crawford's absence, said he thought it was the first Founders' Day the Chancellor had missed since he accepted the office eleven years ago. Much of the colour and dignity of those celebrations was due to him, for, said Dr. Moberly, he had lifted the dignity of being Chancellor into a fine art.

The honorary graduands were presented to the Vice-Chancellor, according to the ceremonial formula, by Professor J. L. Stocks, in the following order, and in the following felicitous terms :—

Alfred William Flux, C.B., for the degree of Doctor of Laws: "I present to you a former Senior Wrangler who in spite of that false start has succeeded in making himself a world expert in what to count and how to count it. The first decisive step was taken when he left Cambridge forty years ago to become Cobden Lecturer at Owens College and later the first Stanley Jevons Professor of Political Economy. The second step followed naturally when he became a member and later president of the Manchester Statistical Society. For a time he escaped to Canada, but, London calling, he was soon back in the Board of Trade, where the statistical department lost his controlling hand less than two years ago.

"He organized and directed the first census of production ever taken in England, with several of its successors, and he made of our index number of wholesale prices a model which other countries have adopted. His preoccupation with the measurement of production has not prevented him from contributing in a luminous treatise to the discussion of economic principles; and in another volume he has done something to

relieve the darkness which shrouds the vexed and vexing problem of foreign exchanges. As a statistician he has received the Guy gold medal and nearly every other distinction that the world has to offer.

"It must be very gratifying to him to observe the growing conviction of our more philosophical physicists that this world is itself at bottom only an affair of statistical averages, as some confirmation of his own profound belief that what cannot be counted does not exist."

VICTOR ALEXANDER GEORGE ROBERT, EARL OF LYTTON, K.G., for the degree of Doctor of Laws: "Romantic fiction and Parliamentary eloquence, poetry, diplomacy, and the theatre all belonged to the inheritance which the noble Lord whom I present to you accepted with his title more than forty years ago. It would not be surprising if he had not sometimes seemed doubtful which part of this legacy was more particularly his. He was born in India during his father's vice-royalty, and he has served India well and truly in Parliament and out of Parliament, as Provincial Governor and as leader of the Indian Delegation at Geneva. At home he has given powerful but unobtrusive support to many good causes, to the garden city movement, to working-class education, and to the daring enterprises at the Old Vic. He has found romance in electric light and Palestine potash, and his championship of women's suffrage will not be forgotten by the women of this generation.

"In recent years he has made a name among those who have served as British delegates to the League of Nations, and it is permissible to see in the report of the Manchurian Commission, over which he presided, the hand of one whose father's minutes and dispatches are reckoned a model of English prose. Indian born, he is a passionate lover of skating, and though he is essentially a diplomat he has never held a diplomatic post. The League of Nations perhaps offers a resolution of both paradoxes, though its ice is admittedly thin. It should offer him a fitting theatre in which his great gifts may be of lasting service not merely to his country but to the world."

HUGH PATTISON, BARON MACMILLAN of Aberfeldy, for the degree of Doctor of Laws: "The eminent Lord of Appeal

whom I present to you is singularly lacking in the ignorance which befits a judge. He won distinction in philosophy at Edinburgh before he invaded as a conqueror the law school of Glasgow University. He has been a law examiner and editor of a leading legal periodical. He is a master of Scots law, and he was for many years a chief ornament of the Scottish courts. The last ten years he has devoted to the conquest of England, which he has carried through with the thoroughness that marks all his work.

"His record in these years as a chairman of commissions and committees is probably without parallel either for quality or for quantity. Among the subjects which have engaged his attention are lunacy, coalmining, the medical pharmacopœia, street offences, finance, and industry, and the relatively small matter of the income tax. Macmillan Report, it will be observed, is a generic term, insufficient for identification. He is chairman of the Institute of Industrial Psychology and a member inevitably both of the Carnegie and of the Pilgrim Trusts. He is in truth a peerless chairman, and if his mind retains the smallest fraction of the matter which it has reviewed it must be a veritable encyclopædia of general information.

"And yet only last week this paragon from Scotland devoted his Rede Lecture before the University of Cambridge to a considered and eloquent eulogy of the English mind. By this his conquest of England is surely complete."

HERBERT JOHN CLIFFORD GRIERSON, F.B.A., for the degree of Doctor of Literature: "If the value of English literature as a university discipline and a field of exact scholarship is now established, no living man has contributed more to that happy achievement than this son of the Shetland Isles. Equipped with the tools and traditions of his trade at Aberdeen and Oxford, he early found a special field congenial to his native bent for theology and for the intricacies of thought and language in John Donne and the speculative poetry of the English seventeenth century. Of this field he remains the acknowledged master.

"But duty and interest have led him at times to travel far from this centre. He is one of the very few British masters of

Dutch poetry; it is said, however, that even his Highland tongue finds it hard work to make rhythm out of the double Dutch of Dutch metre. For a short time he served a German university as professor of English, and he came near endangering his return to Scotland by showing that the political principles of Thomas Carlyle were those of Fichte and Hegel. He now holds a national commission to edit the vast mass of Walter Scott's correspondence. The sidelights which he has there found on the smallness of the contemporary great are likely to tax even his skill in the use of the malicious footnote.

"Exact in detail and cautious in valuation, he is yet no friend to that mere compilation of facts which sometimes passes for research; he insists on making fact the servant and not the master of interpretation."

GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN, O.M., for the degree of Doctor of Literature: "I present to you an inveterate romantic who might have been a poet and cannot help being an artist but has accepted with increasing resignation his predestination to the field of history. He is catholic in his tastes. The wider public know best his studies of the Italian risorgimento, which have made Garibaldi and its other heroes live again; but he has found material also in the poetry of George Meredith, in the English middle ages, the Stuart period, and the statesmanship of the nineteenth century; and now, as Regius Professor in his own University of Cambridge, he is at work on Queen Anne, not so dead after all.

"He is no partisan, but he has not the cold impartiality of the 'scientific' historian; his affections are always engaged. The warmth of his love for Italy was unmistakable and his love of England pervades all his work. The English people is his real hero, or would be if he were more certain that it deserved the English countryside. This countryside (or what is left of it) he has worked hard to preserve and make more accessible, with much expenditure of time and money, in his Cambridge and Northumbrian homes and in the English Lakes, as an officer of the Youth Hostels Association and of the National Trust.

"His love of the English scene is all-embracing, and it is penetrated with all the historian's sense of temporal continuity,

which makes society for him, as for Burke, 'a partnership between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born'."

ARCHIBALD VIVIAN HILL, O.B.E., for the degree of Doctor of Science: "I present to you a distinguished physiologist who once worked in our own laboratories as Brackenbury Professor. At Cambridge he was trained first as a mathematician and physical chemist, and the advances in physiology associated with his name owe much to that training. Activities of muscle and nerve, in regard to which chemical analysis seemed to have reached its limit, have been shown by him to be capable of determination with minute accuracy on their physical side with the aid of electrical apparatus of surpassing delicacy and ingenuity. His work illustrates the paradox that the nearer science comes to human life the more hard of access is the ear of the general public.

"He has, however, written fascinatingly in a more popular vein of living machinery, and, himself an athlete, he has thrown light on the making of athletic records. At Manchester he was the envy of colleagues, not merely for the physical energy shown in his daily run of a mile before breakfast, but also for the nonchalant ease with which he piloted his departmental estimates through the dragon-guarded straits of the bursar's office. English physiologists owe much to his service as secretary of their society and editor of their journal, and he has received the widest international recognition, including a Nobel Prize. The academic refugees from distressed Germany know him well as one of their most active friends.

"He was once reported to have discovered the secret of life; and if this is an exaggeration he must at least be admitted to have some command of the secret of living."

LORD LYTTON and LORD MACMILLAN returned thanks on behalf of the honorary graduands. Lord Lytton expressed pleasure that the conferment carried further a family connection with Manchester. In 1853 his grandfather helped to begin from the platform of the Free Trade Hall the public libraries movement in this city. Fifty years later he himself had been privileged to take part in the jubilee of that movement. In 1881 his father, on his return from his vice-royalty in India, also went to

the Free Trade Hall and made a great speech, in the course of which he compared the regenerating effect of British influence in India, to the effect produced by the Hebrew prophet on the Shunamite's son. If he should speak of India to-day it would be of an India his father would not recognize. If his simile were correct it would be true to say that the Shunamite's son was very much alive and was claiming vociferously the recognition of the rights and responsibilities due to its health and vigour.

Most students came to a university to qualify themselves in some technical subject. He believed they would miss a university's greatest value if they acquired nothing else. A university man or woman should have a greater knowledge of life and should be a better citizen of the world than the one who had not had such a privilege. In one's own country one inclined to see the faults of one's countrymen. It was a healthy attitude of mind. But if they were transported, to become a small island surrounded by another people, the tendency was to see rather their merits. He was confident that it was not until he had seen his countrymen in the various public services in India, in loneliness and isolation, grappling with innumerable difficulties, but all the time remembering what was expected of them, endeavouring to live up to the standard inculcated here at home, that he had realized the value of the character learned in the schools and colleges of this country.

Lord Macmillan, in the course of his reply, said he was an eager advocate of making the science of law a branch of the humane studies. The law had been regarded far too much as a matter of mystery and technique. But it was being called upon to play more and more a part in the social world. The Statute-book now, compared with fifty years ago, showed that the law was concerned with aspects of life, economic, social, and financial, with which it never concerned itself in the past. It was being largely adapted as the vehicle of the new era in social philosophy. After all, the law was not dreary and dismal. It was the science of human relations and, so regarded, it could be made one of the most fascinating pursuits. He was eager to see more time given to it in the universities as a branch of liberal studies.

He was speaking in a university situated in a great commercial centre. To this university was confided the task of keeping alive and prominent the things of the spirit, the ideals of the mind in a community whose primary concerns related to material things. He yielded to no one in admiration of the commercial life of the country, but there was another commerce, with a different commodity, and that was the commerce of ideas. One was reminded in Manchester of the great doctrines of Free Trade in the past. In the commerce of which he spoke there was no question possible; there must be no tariffs, no quotas, no frontiers. Nor had one ever heard of overproduction or underconsumption. Here was a great trade in which everyone could engage with advantage.

This was something which would contradict the hideous tendency to emphasize national differences.

THE KING'S BIRTHDAY HONOURS.

Among the new knights created in honour of His Majesty's birthday there is one name that is of special interest not only to Manchester but to a much wider circle of our readers: that of Dr. Walter H. Moberly, D.S.O., Litt.D., who has been Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester since 1926.

Sir Walter is the son of the late R. C. Moberly, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. He was educated at Winchester and New College, where he took a first class in Literae Humaniores in 1903, and later became Fellow of Merton (1904-7), Lecturer in Political Science at Aberdeen (1905-6), Professor of Philosophy at Birmingham (1921-24), and was Principal of the University College of the South-West of England at Exeter (1925-26), before coming to Manchester. From 1906 to 1921 he also held a fellowship at Lincoln College, Oxford. He served in France during the war with the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry, was awarded the D.S.O., and was twice mentioned in dispatches. His published writings include two essays in the collection entitled "Foundations," in which leading Oxford thinkers, chiefly theologians, defined their attitude to contemporary problems of the Church. Sir Walter is a frequent lecturer on ethical and philosophical subjects, and

is Vice-Chairman of the Council of Governors of the John Rylands Library.

Two other of the new creations are also of interest to Manchester readers: Sir Alfred William Flux, C.B., whose name appears among the honorary graduands at the May Commemoration of Founder's Day at the University reported on an earlier page; and Sir Grafton Elliot Smith, F.R.S., Professor of Anatomy in the University of London and Fullerian Professor of Physiology, who was formerly Professor of Anatomy in the University of Manchester.

Within the space of less than a month the world of learning suffered the grievous loss of two of the leading authorities in the science of Egyptology, through the passing of Professors T. E. Peet and F. Llewellyn Griffith.

THOMAS ERIC PEET.

The death of Thomas Eric Peet, Reader in Egyptology at the University of Oxford, occurred on the 22nd of February, at the premature age of fifty-one years.

Educated at Merchant Taylors' School Peet passed as a mathematical scholar to Queen's College, Oxford, where he obtained his degree. After a brief term of schoolmastering he was awarded, in 1906, the Craven Fellowship, with which he went to Rome to study Italian archæology, the outcome of which was his work on "The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy" (1909), which is still recognized as the outstanding authority on the subject, and secured for him the Pelham Studentship in the British School of Rome. Italian archæology was not, however, to be his ultimate goal.

Upon the conclusion of his work at Rome Peet joined Professor Garstang, who was then excavating at Abydos in Egypt, and thenceforward his investigations, with the exception of a small volume on "Rough Stone Monuments and their Builders" (1912), were concentrated on Egyptology. From 1909 throughout the remainder of his life he was closely associated with the Egypt Exploration Fund, first as assistant to Professor Naville in the excavation of the cemeteries of Abydos, and then as his successor.

In 1913 he became Lecturer in Egyptology in the University

of Manchester, but he spent the greater part of his time at his home in Liverpool working up his discoveries at Abydos and elsewhere. In 1915 he joined the army, serving first at Salonika and later in France. After demobilization he returned to excavation and conducted campaigns at El Amarna. Meanwhile he had become Brunner Professor of Egyptology at Liverpool, in succession to Professor Newberry.

Professor Peet acquired a mastery of a number of languages during his residence abroad, and became a leading authority in the language of ancient Egypt. In this capacity he published a series of important hieratic papyri of a juristic and mathematical character. His other publications included: "Egypt and the Old Testament" (1922), and his Schweich Lectures comparing the Egyptian and Babylonian literatures (1931). He was a contributor to the "Cambridge Ancient History," and for many years was editor of the "Liverpool Annals of Art and Archæology," and also of the "Journal of Egyptian Archæology."

Upon the retirement last year of Professor Griffith from the Oxford Chair of Egyptology Peet was elected to succeed him, and at the same time received a fellowship of his old college, thus achieving his dearest ambition.

Hardly had he settled down at Oxford than death cut short this phase of his career which was so full of promise. Peet was first of all a scholar devoted to research, but he was by no means a mere scholar, for he believed in all-round development, and was not averse to social pleasures. To know him was to hold him in the highest esteem and affection.

He was a welcome contributor to these pages, and also to the Rylands series of public lectures.

The sudden death, from heart attack, of Francis Llewellyn Griffith, Professor Emeritus of the University of Oxford, took place at his home at Boar's Hill, Oxford, on Wednesday, the 14th of March, in his seventy-second year.

FRANCIS LLEWELLYN GRIFFITH.

Professor Griffith was the youngest son of the Reverend Dr. John Griffith. He was educated at Brighton College, Sedbergh, and Highgate. On going up to Oxford, as a scholar

of Queen's College, he came under the influence of Professor Sayce, and in 1884, when only twenty-two years of age, he was already in Egypt excavating under the leadership of Naville and Flinders Petrie. He contributed largely to the volumes of the Egypt Exploration Fund, which record the early excavations at Tanis, Naukratis, and Tell-el-Yahudiya, and he has worked continuously for the Fund both at home and in Egypt ever since.

From 1888 to 1896 he was an assistant in the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities in the British Museum, and made a close study of the ancient Egyptian language, which was to him the most attractive study of Egyptology. In 1892 he became Assistant Professor of Egyptology in University College, London, and in 1901 he accepted the Readership in Egyptology at Oxford.

From 1889 onwards his production was remarkable. He began with a volume of difficult and important hieroglyphic texts copied at tombs in Assiut, contributed a study of the hieroglyphics to the Beni Hassan volumes of the Egypt Exploration Fund, and followed it up by an ambitious study of hieroglyphic signs.

In 1898 the work which was to give full scope to the genius of Griffith made its appearance. It dealt with a number of papyri found at Kahun and Gurob, written mostly in a cursive hand of the Middle Kingdom. After many years of study Griffith mastered the difficulties both of the script and of the contents, and produced translations in which after so many years there has been little improvement to be made.

The next decade was devoted mainly to the study of Demotic. Between 1904 and 1909 he edited with Sir Herbert Thompson the "Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leyden," but a still more important piece of work was his Catalogue of the fine collection of Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, which was published in 1909, in three large volumes. This publication, which included the first glossary of Demotic, placed the study of Demotic on a new plane.

Between 1896 and 1908 Griffith was honorary lecturer of Egyptology in the University of Manchester, and it was during

those years that he compiled the Catalogue of the Rylands Collection. After this he turned his attention to a new script (Meriotic), found in the Sudan, and published a volume of texts in the old Nubian language.

In 1924 the University of Oxford recognized his merits by converting his Readership into a Chair, thus giving him the status of a professor.

On his seventieth birthday (27th May, 1932) Griffith was presented with a volume of essays prepared by seventy of the chief Egyptologists of the world.

At the end of that term he resigned his Chair, but continued to act as Deputy Professor, finally retiring last year when he was made Professor Emeritus.

Griffith was a D.Litt. of Oxford, an honorary fellow of Queen's College, and a Fellow of the British Academy. He had honorary doctorates conferred upon him by several of our own universities, and was a member of many learned societies and institutions on the continent.

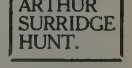
He possessed a library of nearly 20,000 Egyptological books, said to be the finest privately owned library of its kind in the world. He directed that the residue of his property was to be transferred to the Chancellor, masters, and scholars of the University of Oxford to endow a home or institute for Egyptological study, as they may think fit, desiring that his books, manuscripts, and papers should be used in furnishing the same.

The writer of the obituary in *The Times* has paid a fine tribute to the character of Griffith in the following terms, every sentence of which we are able to endorse :

" The keynote of Griffith's character was generosity. There was no trace of selfishness in his work: he laboured not for himself but for his science. As a teacher he was always inspiring, though not always easy to follow, for he seemed to translate Egyptian by a kind of unerring instinct. He neither thought nor spoke evil of any man, and held himself aloof from that criticism of his colleagues which is all too common in his science. Though he did not condone inferior work, he never treated it with intolerance or contemptuous superiority, and anyone who showed his intention to do his best might be

sure of his help and encouragement. His recreation was walking. His stride was long and rapid, but he took in all that he passed, neither bird nor flower escaping his observant glance. He had a reputation, not undeserved, for absent-mindedness, but it never affected his work, in which he was as businesslike as he was scholarly."

It is with deep regret that we have to record still another grievous loss to scholarship, and in particular to the science of papyrology, through the death of Dr. A. S. Hunt, Professor of Papyrology in the University of Oxford, which took place at his home at Oxford, on Monday, the 18th of June, at the age of sixty-three.



Arthur Surridge Hunt, the eldest son of the late Alfred Henry Hunt of Romford Hall, Essex, was born on the 1st of March, 1871. He was educated at Cranbrook School, and Eastbourne College, whence he proceeded to Queen's College, Oxford, where a first class in classical moderations was followed by the Aubrey Moore Studentship, the Craven Fellowship, and a senior demyship at Magdalen College.

For many years Queen's College had been a centre of Egyptian studies in Oxford, and the influence of his friend and fellow Queen's man, Dr. R. P. Grenfell, soon directed Hunt's attention to the great possibilities offered by the discovery of papyrus fragments among the débris and rubbish heaps of towns in the Fayum and other districts in or near the Nile Valley. A number of joint expeditions between 1895 and 1907 yielded a rich harvest, and popular interest was aroused by the publication in 1897, of the "Logia Jesu," or "Sayings of our Lord," which was among the first-fruits of a series of finds extending over many years, and bringing to the two brilliant young pioneers a reputation for scholarship and research which rapidly became world-wide.

Not only have many lost classical texts been recovered, and the content of classical literature considerably increased, but with the help of the masses of non-literary documents which Grenfell and Hunt and later Hunt alone have published over a period of thirty years, the study of the institutions, the

administration and the private life of Greco-Roman Egypt has been completely revolutionized.

Their principal publications include seventeen volumes of the "Oxyrhynchus Papyri" (1898-1927), the "Amherst Papyri," 2 vols. (1901), the "Tebtunis Papyri," 3 vols. (1902-33), the "Hibeh Papyri" (1906), the "Rylands Papyri," 2 vols. (1911-15), "Two Theocritus Papyri" (1930), "Select Papyri" (1932), Menander's "Georgos" (1898), and "New Sayings of Jesus" (1904).

The Rylands Collections of Papyri were acquired by Grenfell and Hunt during their joint expeditions in Egypt, at first for Lord Crawford and later for the Governors of the Library, who owe to Professor Hunt a debt of gratitude for the service he rendered in so readily undertaking the publication of the two first volumes of the "Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library."

Hunt's work was recognized by the award of many honorary doctorates by British and foreign Universities. He was also elected to the membership of many foreign academies, was made Fellow of the British Academy, an honorary Fellow of Lincoln College, and Drexel Medallist of the University of Philadelphia. The University of Oxford established an Extraordinary Professorship of Papyrology which was held jointly by Grenfell and Hunt until Grenfell's death in 1926, and subsequently by Hunt alone.

It was a matter of great concern to Hunt as it was to Grenfell, that they found few disciples to carry on the great work to which they had devoted their lives. Much of the material accumulated at Queen's College from Oxyrhynchus still remains to be examined and published, as does also the material for the third volume of the Rylands Catalogue.

TINDALE'S REVISION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT OF 1534.

The month of November, 1934, marks the four-hundredth anniversary of the publication of William Tindale's revised edition of his translation of the New Testament, which was issued in November, 1534, and it may not be without interest to our readers to have briefly recalled the circumstances under which the first translation of the New Testament into English was undertaken and printed.

It is true to say that our English Bible in its printed form was born in exile.

The country which more than any other was to be distinguished in after years for its zeal in printing and circulating the Scriptures was late in entering the lists. She was nourishing her faith on manuscripts of Wiclif's Version long after the time when Bibles were printed in other European languages. Before the end of the fifteenth century Bibles had been printed in German (1467), in Italian (1471), in Dutch (1475), in Spanish (1478), in French (1487), and in Bohemian (1488), the translations of which had been made from the Latin Vulgate. Indeed, before the year 1534 no fewer than seventy-two partial and fifty complete translations had been printed in Germany alone.

It was the work of Desiderius Erasmus, of Rotterdam, that first suggested to William Tindale, a young Oxford scholar, the noble design of translating the Bible into the vernacular speech of his countrymen. In the "Paraclesis" or introduction to his critical edition of the Greek New Testament with a new Latin translation, first published at Basel in 1516, Erasmus expresses himself thus :—

> "I totally dissent from those who are unwilling that the sacred Scriptures, translated into the vulgar tongue, should be read by private individuals ; as if Christ had taught such subtle doctrines that they can with difficulty be understood by a very few theologians ; or as if the Christian religion lay in men's ignorance of it. The mysteries of kings it were perhaps better to conceal, but Christ wishes His mysteries to be published as widely as possible. I would wish even all women to read the Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul. And I wish they were translated into all languages, of all people, that they might be read and known, not merely by the Scotch, and the Irish, but even by the Turks and the Saracens. I wish that the husbandman may sing parts of them at his plough, that the weaver may warble them at his shuttle, that the traveller may, with their narratives, beguile the weariness of the way."

These sentiments found an echo in Tindale's famous manifesto, when in controversy with a reputed learned divine he was led to declare :—

> "If God spare my life, ere many years, I will cause the boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scriptures than thou doest."

It was soon evident to Tindale that for one who gave utterance to such views Gloucestershire, his home county, which was

held to be the very stronghold of the Church, would no longer serve as a safe retreat, and that the work of translating the Bible could not be carried out there, so he made his way to London in the hope of finding in Cuthbert Tonstall, the Bishop of London, whom Erasmus had praised for his great learning, a sympathetic and liberal patron, only to learn that his self-imposed task could not be executed either in London or in England. Here was the testing-time, and here shines forth the personality which has so unalterably moulded the English Bible. If the work could only be done in exile, in secret, and in peril of life, these were but potent reasons why it should be done and done quickly.

In May, 1524, Tindale left London for Hamburg, and there, during a residence of several months, he completed the translation of the New Testament. Early in 1525 he proceeded to Cologne, famous for its printers, where he made arrangements to print his work in quarto. Little progress had been made when, at the instigation of Cochlaeus (whose real name was John Dobneck), one of the fiercest and bitterest enemies of the Reformation, further work was arrested by an order of the Senate of Cologne. Half distracted, with the help of Friar Roye, also an exile, who had been at Cambridge with him, and had been acting as his amanuensis, he seized what printed sheets he could lay his hands upon, and fled to Worms, the headquarters of Lutheranism, a city in every way suited to his purpose. Here at the press of Peter Schoeffer, son of the famous associate of Fust and Gutenburg, the prototypographers of Mainz, the work commenced and interrupted at Cologne was completed in a smaller octavo format, perhaps, as Merle d'Aubigné suggests, in order to mislead the inquisitors, and by the month of March, 1526, some thousands of copies were ready for distribution.

Henry VIII and Wolsey had been warned of this threatened invasion of England by the Word of God, and did everything in their power to defeat it, but the enterprise of the merchants was more than a match for the sovereign and the hostility of the bishops, and in spite of all warning and precautions the Testaments were smuggled into England, packed in the heart

of bales of merchandise, and there widely circulated to the joy and comfort of the people.

Such was the demand for the Testaments that several surreptitious editions were published at Antwerp by Christopher Endhoven, with the help of another English refugee, George Joye, who had been scholar and fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, and had fled abroad to escape persecution, who was engaged to correct the sheets.

The issue of this Testament was an event of the utmost importance, marking as it did an epoch in the literary history of the country. At a time when our language was still unformed, when as yet no attempt had been made to make it the vehicle of any great literary undertaking, Tindale proved that its capacity was unbounded, and that it was possible to express the highest truths in the clearest manner with simplicity and grace, thus exercising a permanent influence of the most beneficial kind over the literary taste of the English-speaking people.

Having completed his New Testament Tindale settled down to the study of Hebrew in order to qualify himself to deal with the Old Testament. The years 1529 and 1530 saw the completion of his translation of the Pentateuch or Five Books of Moses, which was printed at Antwerp. It was evidently the fixed and unalterable intention of Tindale to print an edition of the entire Bible, and to this end he had already, in 1534, completed a newly corrected and amended edition of the "first book of Moses called Genesis."

Tindale had for some time been engaged in revising and improving his New Testament, but the work was obviously delayed by other publications of a controversial character, such as: his "Reply to Sir Thomas More," "The Parable of the Wicked Mammon," "The Obedience of a Christian Man," "The Practice of Prelates," and others, which necessarily engrossed his attention, and interfered with his work of revision. He was called back imperatively to this work, however, by circumstances taking place in Antwerp.

George Joye who had assisted Christopher Endhoven some years earlier in the preparation of the surreptitious editions of Tindale's Testament, had been for some time secretly engaged

on the preparation of a revised edition of the Testament, on which he had made considerable alterations in the text, and had introduced many errors based upon the Latin Vulgate. This surreptitious edition was issued in the month of August, 1534, from the press of Christopher Endhoven, which, after his death, had been carried on by his widow.

Tindale was naturally incensed at the presumption of Joye, who, dependent on the Latin Vulgate, having little or no knowledge of Greek, yet described his edition as "diligently oversene and corrected," and he set himself forthwith to complete his own revision, which was furnished with short marginal notes and prologues to the several books chiefly compiled from Luther. This was published in the month of November, 1534, within four months of the publication of Joye's spurious edition, by Martin Emperour, at Antwerp.

Hitherto Tindale had been content to sign himself "W. T." Now for the first time his name occurs in full, both on the title page which reads: "The Newe Testament dylygently corrected and compared with the Greek by Willyam Tindale . . .," and in the second address to the Reader which reads: "Willyam Tyndale, yet once more to the Christen reader."

It was to this edition that the Revisers of 1881, upon the completion of their work, referred, when they pointed out that the revisions undertaken since Tindale's day have one and all been built upon his version. They acknowledged that the Revised Version was still to all intents and purposes Tindale's, and that it is to him we owe many of the beautifully felicitous phrases which are found in the revision of 1534.

MILTON'S "COMUS."

The tercentenary of the first performance of Milton's "Comus" is to be made the occasion for a historical pageant at Ludlow Castle during the first week of July. The masque itself will be given after each performance of the pageant, which will illustrate notable events in the history of Shropshire.

The prologue of the pageant has been written by Sir Owen Seaman and will be spoken by Miss Lena Ashwell. The libretto of the five episodes which are to follow is the work of

Sir John Drinkwater. The first subject will show the betrayal of Caractacus to the Romans at Uriconium (Wroxeter), near Shrewsbury in A.D. 51. This will be followed by the death scene, in A.D. 722, of the Abbess Milburgh and the translation of her relics to the new foundation of Wenlock Priory on her canonization in A.D. 1101. The passing of the centuries will be indicated by a procession of historical personages. The trial of Prince David of Wales before Edward I's Parliament at Shrewsbury, on 30th September, 1283, will occupy the third episode, which will open with the gathering of the people to witness the assembling of the "Mother of Parliaments," the first occasion on which the common people were admitted to the Council of the Nation. The fourth episode will show the Prince of Wales (Edward V.) setting out from Ludlow Castle on his fateful journey to London. In the final scene Philip Sidney will be seen leaving Ludlow Castle for his first term at Shrewsbury School, which he entered, together with his cousin, Fulke Greville, in 1564.

Sir Granville Bantock has arranged the music, and the pageant will be produced by Mr. Avalon Collard.

"Comus" in the early editions is described simply as "A Masque presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634: on Michaelmasse night . . . ," and it is so described in the two collected editions of Milton's "Minor Poems," published during his lifetime, the first in 1645 and the second in 1673. "Comus," the name of one of the principal characters, was given to the "Maske" for the first time, it is said, in 1747.

At the time that "Comus" was written and acted in 1634, Milton was in his twenty-sixth year. Although he had already written a number of pieces both in English and Latin, notably the beautiful fragment "Arcades" addressed to Alice, Countess Dowager of Derby, who after the death of her first husband had married Lord Keeper Egerton, afterwards Lord Chancellor, Viscount Brackley, only one had appeared in print, the little poem of sixteen lines on Shakespeare, written in 1630, but not printed until 1632, and then anonymously, when it appeared among the verses prefixed to the second folio edition of Shakespeare's works: "An Epitaph on the Admirable Dramatick Poet,

W. Shakespeare," commencing: "What needs my Shakespeare for his honour'd Bones."

Even when "Comus" was printed in 1637 Milton seems to have been diffident about acknowledging the authorship. It was very probably printed with his permission as the motto on the title-page, from Vergil, was evidently selected by him:

> "Eheu quid volui misero mihi! floribus austrum
> Perditus — —"

which Masson has paraphrased thus:

> "Ah! wretched and undone! Myself to have brought
> The wind among the flowers."

The dedication is written and signed by H. Lawes, whose reason for printing is said to be "that the often copying of it hath tir'd my pen to give my several friends satisfaction". Henry Lawes was one of the most famous composers of music of the time in England, and it was under his direction and to his music, that the "Maske" was produced at Ludlow Castle on Michaelmas Night, the 29th September, 1634.

The occasion was the celebration of the entry of John Egerton, the first Earl of Bridgewater, as Lord President of the Marches, and the place was the great hall of Ludlow Castle, in which according to tradition, the elder of the two princes murdered in the Tower had been proclaimed King with the title of Edward V., before commencing his fateful journey to London.

Old records have it that the theme of the masque, the loss of the lady and her two brothers in the wood, was founded on an actual incident which happened to the three children of Lord Bridgewater while they were returning through Hay's Wood to Ludlow from a visit to relations in Herefordshire. However that may be, the masque came into being with Milton's words and the music of Henry Lawes.

The play contains six speaking parts only. Of these the most important, the "Attendant Spirit" was taken by Lawes, the director of the play and the author of the music. The part of "The Lady" was taken by Lady Alice Egerton, youngest daughter of the Earl, then about fifteen years of

age. The parts of the "Elder Brother" and the "Second Brother" were played by the two young brothers of Lady Alice, John, Viscount Brackley, to whom the printed edition is dedicated, and Mr. Thomas Egerton. These two young men had already had a taste of stage acting, having taken juvenile parts in Carew's "Coelum Britannicum," which had been performed the previous February in the royal banqueting-house at Whitehall, in which the King himself (Charles I.) took part.

Of the actual performance there is little record, and, according to the custom of the period, the masque was not repeated. It was only later that it was recognized as a work of genius, the flower in fact of Milton's earlier style.

The stage copy, or one of them, perhaps in Lawes's own autograph, is, we believe, still preserved in the library of Bridgewater House, and the music of five of the six songs, in Lawes's own autograph, is in the British Museum.

An earlier draft of the poem in Milton's handwriting is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, in a precious thin folio of forty-six pages, mostly in Milton's own handwriting, and containing all but a few of the minor English poems.

The first printed edition of which a copy is in the John Rylands Library, is a thin quarto volume of twenty leaves.

TATIAN'S DIATESSARON.

Professor Kirsopp Lake, of Cambridge, Mass., in a letter of the 2nd of May, confirms the rumour which has been current for some time that a fragment of the "Diatessaron" of Tatian had been discovered by the expedition to Doura on the Euphrates undertaken by the University of Yale, and gives a few details concerning it.

The fragment is a small piece of a parchment roll. It was discovered in the ruins of Doura during the excavations of 1933, in a position which precludes the possibility of its being later than the year A.D. 255, and makes a date approximately 235 extremely probable. The fragment is unfortunately quite short, but as the ruins in this part of the site have not as yet been fully excavated it is just possible that more may yet be found.

The coincidence in order with the Arabic version of the "Diatessaron" at a point where the writer fortunately made a complete mosaic of short passages from the different gospels is almost demonstrative proof that the fragment is really Tatian. The alternative might be that it is a fragment of the harmony made by Theophilus of Antioch, but this is much less likely and may safely be disregarded for the moment.

The most interesting point is the fact that this fragment is in Greek. It is just possible that it is a retranslation from Syriac, but this seems a most improbable hypothesis, says Professor Lake, and the fragment may surely be regarded as definitely turning the scale of evidence in favour of the view that Tatian wrote this, as he did his other work, in Greek. The text may be said to confirm the view of those who think that the original text of Tatian was markedly different from that of the Arabic. It is unfortunate that it comes at a point where the commentary of Ephraim fails us, but it will afford room for considerable discussion when it is published.

Professor Lake concludes by stating that an announcement of its publication will shortly be made. This publication will be eagerly awaited by scholars.

GERMAN LIBRARY OF BURNED BOOKS.

On the 10th of May the German Library of Burned Books was formally opened in Paris. The date selected was the anniversary of the day last year when the Nazis held their great bonfire of all books German and non-German, from Lessing and Heine and Voltaire to Heinrich Mann, Jacob Wassermann, Emile Zola, Romain Rolland, André Gide, and Emil Ludwig, with all the writers of Soviet Russia, and, not unnaturally, the leading sociological writers of Communist and Marxist tendencies, which they considered to stand in the way of the spreading of the Nazi creed.

It is impossible to say how many volumes were actually burned in Germany. The solemn *auto-da-fé* of May 10 was merely a symbolic act; but it was about ten days later that the great cleansing of the public and of some of the private libraries took place, when over two million volumes, including one million volumes in Berlin alone, were taken away as waste

paper. A large number of books, though not officially on the index, are no longer available at many of the German public libraries, and cannot even be easily bought at bookshops. A few copies of the prohibited books, such as those of Karl Marx, are still kept at the main public libraries, but only in what is called the "Giftschrank," or poison chest, and those who want to consult them must produce evidence that they intend to write against them.

It is in a quiet corner of old-fashioned Paris, in the Boulevard Arago, that the German Library of Burned Books has found its home. Already it contains 20,000 volumes, but when completed it is hoped that in addition to copies of all the books which the "Third Reich" has burned, censored, or suppressed, all those books from H. S. Chamberlain to Hitler himself which are necessary for a close revelation of Hitlerism will be available.

But for purposes of research books alone are not sufficient, and already upwards of 200,000 newspaper cuttings relating to the Hitler regime from practically all the German papers since 1933, and from some of the leading foreign newspapers including the *Manchester Guardian* and *The Times* have been collected and classified as well as thousands of pamphlets, and complete files of such newspapers as the *Vossische Zeitung* and the *Völkische Beobachter*.

The publicity given to the formation of the library seems already to have had some effect on the minds of the German authorities. In view of the fact that the library contains, not only copies of all books burnt last year, but also newspaper cuttings and copies of all official Nazi literature from "Mein Kampf" downwards, it is significant that in future all books purporting to represent the Nazi point of view are to be officially scrutinized before publication.

Funds for the organization and maintenance of the library are needed, and the provisional committee, of which Dr. Alfred Kantorowicz, 65 Boulevard Arago, Paris XLV, is the general secretary, are inviting subscriptions to set things going.

England has shown keen interest in the work, and it is possible that in time the bulk of the library may be transferred to London. Paris has the largest number of German émigrés, but

the interest in German affairs is not nearly so widespread in France as in England.

A Society of Friends of the Library of Burned Books has been formed in London, of which the honorary treasurer is Professor G. E. G. Catlin, 19 Glebe Place, London, S.W. 1, to whom donations or an annual subscription of five shillings for this deserving cause may be sent.

RUSKIN'S HOME.

Brantwood, the house beside Coniston Water, where John Ruskin spent the last thirty years of his life, was opened on the 21st of April as a national memorial to him. It will be held in trust for the Ruskin Society, in perpetuity, and will be open as a conference house, a guest house, and as a Ruskin Museum.

Mr. J. Howard Whitehouse, the president of the Ruskin Society, whose hard work and generosity have been largely responsible for saving the estate, presided at the opening ceremony, which took place in the library of Brantwood.

Mr. Whitehouse explained that the society hoped to make Brantwood more than a mere showplace. "We hope," said Mr. Whitehouse, "that it will become a centre of Ruskin influence. This is his old home. He came here in 1871, and it was in 1900 that he died in the bedroom upstairs. He bought the house without having actually seen it. He knew the position and the district, and that was enough. I believe," said Mr. Whitehouse in conclusion, "that Ruskin has a great message for these times, and that his doctrines will inspire the youth of the nation in their attempt to create a better world."

We cannot do better than reproduce the words of the Special Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* in which he writes of Brantwood and of what Ruskin made of it.

> "The house which thus becomes a national heritage lies near the foot of the steep wooded hillside which forms the eastern shore of the lake. It has 'a mountain in the backyard' and from the front windows the ground runs away sharply to the water's edge, where the little harbour Ruskin himself constructed for his pleasure-boats can still be seen. The view across the lake to the Coniston Old Man

and all that range of rocky heights is among the finest in the Lake District, and, indeed, in Europe. 'Anything so lovely as the view from my rocks to-day I haven't seen since I was at Lago Maggiore,' wrote Ruskin to Mrs. Severn in 1872, and the pilgrims who gathered here to-day could look out over the same prospect with the reflection that, amid many changes he would have deplored, this remains as Ruskin knew it.

"The house itself has the haphazard charm which comes with frequent additions to a small original structure by a man of fine taste. When Ruskin bought the place in 1871 he found a modest two-storey villa of stone, with a parlour, a dining-room, and a flagged kitchen. To this he added two large rooms—dining room and library—at each side, then a turreted bedroom over the dining-room, and finally a vast irregular wing running out at right angles from the back of the house, and literally climbing the hillside. On these improvements and on the cultivation of the grounds, which cover 200 acres, Ruskin spent the leisure and fortune of his later years.

"He came to Brantwood at a time when private sorrow and the heat of public controversy had come near to wrecking his life, and it was here, in the little world of his own creation, with the company of friends he most loved, that he found himself again. The study where he would work in the early morning, often beginning by candle-light before the dawn, has a bay-window overlooking the lake, and is now hung with some of his own water-colours, and with a reproduction of the youthful head by Richmond, of which the original is in the National Portrait Gallery.

"The collection of drawings and paintings at present hanging at Brantwood represents only a fraction of Ruskin's enormous output, but it includes many fine things unknown or forgotten, such as the water-colour 'Glacier de Bois,' strongly reminiscent of Turner. Loan exhibitions from Mr. Whitehouse's famous Ruskin collection at Bembridge School, in the Isle of Wight, will be arranged from time to time, and a valuable addition will be the paintings

of Arthur Severn, presented by his old friend Miss Horne. They will hang in the great studio which Ruskin built specially for Severn, and where most of them were painted. Among them is the famous copy of Turner's 'St. Gothard Pass,' which Ruskin, a lively critic of all imitation, declared himself unable to tell from the original."

THE "CODEX SINAITICUS."

Now that the first £50,000 of the purchase price of the Codex Sinaiticus has been assured and passed (the actual sum is about £60,000), the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other leaders of the churches, have issued an appeal for contributions to the second £50,000.

In some quarters there has been a reluctance to pay the second half of the purchase price out of public funds. This has given rise to a strong desire on the part of those who set the right value on the possession of this precious manuscript that as much as possible of the total amount should be raised by the voluntary efforts of all who reverence the Bible and value its place in our personal and national life; and in that way enable the Trustees of the British Museum to complete the whole purchase without having to call upon the Government to redeem the promise given by the Prime Minister on their behalf to provide half the purchase price.

It has been pointed out that hundreds of congregations have not yet contributed to the fund, and it has been suggested that announcements should be made from the pulpits of such churches that special collections would be taken on a certain day, and that collecting boxes should be placed in the vestibules.

This great Biblical manuscript has already become one of the outstanding treasures of the British Museum. Its acquisition has been an encouragement to Bible study, and is a testimony to the deep interest taken by the British public in the Bible.

The aim of the promoters of these appeals has been to make of the Codex a great national treasure bought with the offerings of the whole people, from those of Their Majesties the King and Queen down to the pence contributed by the school children.

Contributions may still be sent to Sir George Hill, Director of the British Museum, London, W.C. 1, or to the Librarian of the John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester.

ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE J.R.L.

In our last issue, we announced the publication of the "Catalogue of Arabic Papyri in the John Rylands Library," which had been compiled by Professor A. Margoliouth.

We are now able to announce the publication of the companion "Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts [codices]," which forms the sixth issue, and the tenth volume, of the series of descriptive catalogues or guides to the collection of oriental and western manuscripts in the John Rylands Library.

For the difficult task of describing this group of manuscripts the governors were fortunate in being able to secure the services of so competent a scholar as Dr. A. Mingana.

These manuscripts, with the exception of a few examples acquired in recent years, formed part of the great collection of rolls, tablets, and codices to the number of more than six thousand, illustrating the history of writing and illumination in the principal oriental and western languages, acquired by the late Mrs. Rylands in 1901 from the late Earl of Crawford, to form part of the equipment of the library founded two years earlier as a memorial to her late husband whose name it perpetuates.

The acquisition of the Crawford manuscripts largely determined the range and character of the Rylands collections, and it is but bare justice to say that they owe a great deal to the foresight and scholarly judgment of successive members of the House of Lindsay, who have been responsible for the formation of the great library best known to scholars as the "Bibliotheca Lindesiana," of which the aforesaid manuscripts formed a small though very precious part.

It was in 1915 that Dr. Mingana was invited to undertake the compilation of the present catalogue, and for seventeen years he has worked almost persistently upon it.

During the progress of the work a number of most important discoveries were made, many of which have been

described or published in the pages of this BULLETIN. Perhaps the most noteworthy was that of the earliest known apology for Islam as against Christianity, written about 850 A.D., at Baghdad, by 'Alī Tabari, at the Court, and with the assistance of the Caliph Muttawakkil. This was considered to be of such outstanding importance that the text with an English translation was issued by the Governors in 1923, in two volumes, under the title "The Book of Religion and Empire," and at once caused a great stir in the East. Another find, which upon its publication in the BULLETIN also excited considerable interest in the East, was a Charter of Protection granted to the Nestorian Christian Church in A.D. 1138 by Muktafi ii, the Mohammedan Caliph of Baghdad. No such charter of protection of Christians by a Mohammedan Caliph had been known hitherto. Other articles, notably those dealing with the early spread of Christianity in India and the Far East, have thrown a flood of new light upon the subject with which they deal, and have directed attention to the richness of the collection, the examination of which by Dr. Mingana has yielded such remarkable results.

In his Introduction Dr. Mingana has referred to the provenance of the manuscripts as recorded by the late Earl of Crawford in the "Hand-list of Oriental Manuscripts in the Bibliotheca Lindesiana," privately printed in 1898.

The commencement of the oriental collections was made in 1836-37 by the grandfather of the present Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, during his travels in Egypt and Syria. He drew up long lists of desiderata, and about 1861 he contemplated sending specially commissioned agents to the East to search out what he wished to obtain.

This course was not adopted with regard to the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish tongues, though it was to a considerable extent carried out in the case of Chinese works, but in 1866 the collection formed by Mr. Nathaniel Bland, a distinguished member of the Royal Asiatic Society, of 631 volumes of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish works, was purchased *en bloc*, and two years later (in 1868), another large addition was made by the purchase of the greater portion of the manu-

scripts collected by Colonel G. W. Hamilton, consisting of 717 volumes.

The Arabic manuscripts here dealt with number 818 volumes, but as many of the volumes contain a number of separate treatises the collection may be said to consist of 1535 distinct works.

Special interest has been shown by those who were responsible for the building up of the collection in the matter of Eastern art. There are examples the decoration of which are said to equal in beauty of design anything known in other public and state libraries. Of books written throughout in letters of gold there are two.

In point of age there are manuscripts of the second half of the eighth century, probably the earliest known date to which any Ḳur'ānic manuscript or any Arabic vellum codex can be ascribed. Of dated examples the number will compare favourably with those found in any other collection. There are also several works in the autographs of the authors, and others which contain the oldest texts extant.

In the domain of theology alone there are sixty unique texts, and the list might be extended to the other branches of history, science, and literature. The collection of the religious books of the Druzes is probably unsurpassed.

The copies of the Ḳur'ān which number thirty-three are specially noteworthy. One in particular which, apart from its beautiful decoration on which a first-rate artist has lavished his skill, is probably the largest and heaviest manuscript in existence. It bears the seal of Ḳānsuḥ al-Ghūri (A.D. 1500-1516), the last but one of the Mamlūk Sultans of Egypt, and formerly belonged to his mosque at Cairo, in which it may be presumed to have been written about A.D. 1500. Another copy is written entirely in large letters of gold, possibly of Hispano-Mauresque origin, executed about A.D. 1000.

The entries have been classified according to subject. The catalogue is also furnished with two indices, one of authors and copyists, the other of titles, followed by a concordance between the old Crawford numbers, under which they are arranged on the shelves of the library, and the numerical sequence of the

catalogue entries. The volume consists of 614 pages in Quarto, and is published at three guineas *net*. Copies may be obtained from the Manchester University Press, Lime Grove, Manchester, or from the Librarian of the John Rylands Library.

BUSINESS HISTORY.

The announcement of the formation of a new organization for the preservation of business archives, under the title "A Council for the Preservation of Business Archives," furnishes evidence of the growing interest in the study of business and industrial history which is being conducted in some of our younger universities, and of which, if we mistake not, Manchester may claim to be one of the pioneers.

Although the newly formed Council is not a branch of the recently formed British Records Association it is clearly an outgrowth of it, and the hope is expressed in the announcement that it will ultimately form a section of the older association.

At present it is an independent body organized by the Institute of Historical Research. Its aim is the same as that of the older body, with this difference, that instead of interesting itself with the preservation of historical records of national and local importance it will confine its attention to the saving from oblivion of records of business activities, the essential source material for the study of the history of business enterprise, and of history from business archives.

Great masses of such records have hitherto remained in the possession of firms or of families descended from business men, and therefore inaccessible by reason of the lack of any organization for discovering them, and for making students of economic history acquainted with their existence.

The Council's first object is to map out the ground by compiling a register of all records over one hundred years old. The work of discovery will be greatly facilitated if the owners of such documents, who are interested in the scheme, will spontaneously communicate to them such information as they are willing to make public. Communications to this effect should be sent to the Honorary Secretary, Council for the Preservation of Business Archives, Institute of Historical Research, Malet Street, London, W.C. 1.

The science of business seems at present to be unformulated.

By the accumulation of the facts of business organization both in ancient and modern times business history will develop into a subject of intensive research, and in course of time we may hope to have a detailed history of the business enterprise of the human race.

Dr. Fish through the articles which he is contributing to our pages on "Aspects of Sumerian Civilization" is helping us to understand something of the organization and equipment of the great temples of Sumeria, which like the religious houses of the middle ages were the centres not only of religion, but also of the business life of the community.

These temples held large estates principally agricultural, which they managed for themselves and from which they derived large revenues, mostly from such natural products as grain, sheep, goats, and oxen.

Attached to the temples were large numbers of priests and officials, as well as dependents such as shepherds, husbandmen and slaves, who lived at the expense of the temple. The stewards, whose duty it was to distribute food and other allowances, were required to keep account of their receipts and disbursements, and it was their custom to write down a record of each transaction on clay tablets such as those which are being recovered in thousands during the excavation of the sites of these buried temples.

In our last issue the tablets with which Dr. Fish dealt related to building and building materials, whereas in the present issue those dealt with relate to sheep, goats, wool, hair and clothing. The labour involved in the various processes of preparation was splendidly organized, and in gradually unfolding this story of business enterprise in Sumeria Dr. Fish is rendering great service to students of industrial history. The differing conditions which the past is thus unfolding, may provide stimulating suggestions for the present.

One of the objects of the proposed research in business and industrial history is the study of individual units against the background of their times, and in the case of the Oldknow Papers, which have just been acquired by the Rylands Library,

and which are described in the following paragraphs, this study of a single firm may be developed with the aid of the actual manuscript records of the firm.

SAMUEL OLDKNOW PAPERS.

Samuel Oldknow, whose papers we have just acquired, was born in 1756. He became one of the outstanding figures in the history of the early cotton industry and of the factory system, and his achievements are noted in the works of such leading authorities on this subject as Robert Owen, William Radcliffe, and John Kennedy.

Oldknow had a large mill at Mellor, which subsequently passed into the hands of the Arkwright family and was almost completely destroyed by fire in 1892. One partly damaged portion remained, and was used for various general industrial purposes. About 1920 a boy scout, distributing eighteenth century weavers' pay tickets to passers by, attracted the attention of Mr. Arthur Hulme, a pupil of the late Professor Unwin. Mr. Hulme obtained permission to investigate the surviving ruin and on January 1, 1921, he, accompanied by Professor Unwin, explored the upper floor of the building where they found letters, papers, account books, records of all kinds, covering the floor of a large room and hidden by dust and débris. Many were damaged badly by the weather. This discovery led to the publication of a volume by the Manchester University Press, namely, "Samuel Oldknow and the Arkwrights," by Professor Unwin, with chapters by Mr. Hulme and Mr. George Taylor. To quote Professor Unwin: "From the first it was clear that by a piece of almost inconceivable good fortune the records of Oldknow's previous business as a muslin manufacturer at Stockport had been deposited at Mellor, so that the documents afforded a unique illustration both of the final phase of the 'domestic industry' and of the earliest phase of the factory system." Many papers relate to the beginnings of Oldknow's enterprise at Anderton.

Of the material now acquired for the Library a large proportion, roughly arranged in nineteen boxes, was for a long time temporarily deposited at the University, from which it was forwarded to us. Another large parcel was received direct from Mr. Hulme.

Its nature will be sufficiently evident from the following brief account:

There are a number of ledgers from 1782 onwards containing accounts of creditors and employees, weavers, winders, spinners, bleachers, and others. Other records include warping books, costing books, stocktaking books, day books of sales, delivery books, wages books, output books, and time books. Numerous letters and accounts sent in to Oldknow, together with other papers, throw light upon the activities of other firms, many of them in the Manchester area.

Of considerable interest are the large number of pay tickets and shop notes. We venture to give two more short quotations from Unwin: "Like other captains of industry who built factories in rural districts, Oldknow had been obliged to organize supplies of the chief necessaries of life for many of his workers. Since the beginning of 1791 he had been providing houses, milk, coals, meat, and beds for an increasing number of transient or permanent employees and deducting the cost from their wages. There is no reason to stigmatize this as 'truck.' Most, if not all, of the necessaries supplied were produced on Oldknow's own estate and were probably sold more cheaply than they could otherwise have been obtained." In August, 1791, he advanced £50 for stocking a general shop, most likely more for the convenience of the new population than for personal gain. "But however disinterested Oldknow's original scheme of supply may have been, the crisis gave quite a different turn to it. In form it was the application of the principle of payment in kind to the whole of the wages of his employees instead of to a mere fraction of them. In effect it was an appeal to the community at Mellor and Marple, in whose midst he had set up his new enterprise and who might be presumed to have a deep interest in its success, to provide the credit which alone could save it from collapse. In form they were cheques drawn on his own shop for payment in kind at sight. Most of those who received them would, however, not care to take all their wages in that form, but would try to get cash or other goods elsewhere for the balance. In this case the notes became promissory notes of uncertain date, which the workers who received them, or the

shopkeepers who honoured or discounted them, must hold till Oldknow was able to provide cash or an equivalent."

Some of Oldknow's papers relate to his estate, work on the land, building, and other activities.

CHESHIRE DEEDS AND PAPERS.

Another purchase consists of a large number of Cheshire deeds and documents dating from the early sixteenth century to the early nineteenth century. As indicating the nature of these papers we may mention a document of 1539 signed by David Middleton, Mayor of Chester, another of 1641 with the signatures of Colonel Robert Duckenfield and others, another of 1672 with the seal of the Earl of Bridgewater, a muster roll of 1699, Cheshire wills, and a collection of letters from members of prominent Cheshire families.

Other recent additions relating to Cheshire have been presented to the Library by Professor H. Hale Bellot. They consist of materials dealing with the family of Bradshaw of Marple, and include an unpublished life of John Bradshaw the Regicide, by the late Hugh H. L. Bellot, M.A., D.C.L.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

The Librarian of the University Library at Cambridge has requested us to give publicity to the following notice:

> The Syndics of Cambridge University Library give notice that the books are shortly to be moved to a new building. In consequence the Library will be closed after 31st May, 1934, for the ensuing four months. During this period no books will be available, and no person can be admitted to the buildings. The Syndics request that persons engaged in research and seeking information by letter will limit their enquiries to urgent matters only, since the entire staff will be fully occupied with the arrangement of the books in their new home, and it will not be easy to deal with more that a limited amount of correspondence.
>
> The Syndics issue this notice in order to save from disappointment any who may wish to use the Library, and

particularly scholars from abroad whose work might in normal circumstances bring them to Cambridge during the coming summer.

RYLANDS PUBLIC LECTURES.

The following is a list of the public evening lectures (the thirty-third series) which have been arranged for delivery in the lecture-hall of the Library during the ensuing session 1934-35 :—

Wednesday, 11th October, 1934. "The Background of the Fourth Gospel." By C. H. Dodd, M.A., D.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis and Criticism in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 14th November, 1934. "Falstaff." By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 12th December, 1934. "The moral and political outlook of Sir Thomas Malory." By Eugène Vinaver, M.A., B.Litt., D. ès L., Professor of French Language and Romance Philology in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 9th January, 1935. "The bearing of changes of climate on history." By H. J. Fleure, D.Sc., Professor of Geography in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 13th February, 1935. [Subject to be announced later.] By E. F. Jacob, M.A., D.Phil., Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 13th March, 1935. "Nietzsche and the poetic impulse." By Barker Fairley, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of German Language and Literature in the University of Manchester.

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The following titles represent a selection of the works added to the shelves of the library since the publication of our last issue :

ART : Buxton (D. R.), "Russian mediæval architecture, with an account of the Transcaucasian styles and their influence in the West," 4to ; Poortenaer (Jan), "The technique of prints and art reproduction processes," 8vo ; Norris (H.) and Curtis (O.), "Costume and fashion : 2 : Senlac to Bosworth, 1066-1485 ; 6 : The nineteenth century,"

2 vols., 8vo; SCHLOSSER (J. V.), "Die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte," 8vo; TOYNBEE (J. M. C.), "The Hadrianic School: a chapter in the history of Greek art," 4to.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ACADÉMIE DES INSCRIPTIONS . . ., "Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques, tome 42," 4to; BERLIN, "Gesamtkatalog der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, Band 14: Amico-Anloeten," 4to; BERLIN, "Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, Band 6 (1): Caballus bis Cato," 4to; BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, "Catalogue des livres imprimés, tomes 123-125: Nauc-Nubling," 3 vols., 8vo; BRITISH MUSEUM, "General catalogue of printed books, new edition," vol. 7: "Asmu-Ausz," 4to; "CODICES LATINI ANTIQUIORES, edited by E. A. Lowe, Part 1: The Vatican City," Folio; "CORPUS VASORUM ANTIQUORUM, United States, fascs. 2-4, France: Louvre, fasc. 12, Yougo-Slavie: Zagreb, fasc. 1," 4to; "DATED GREEK MANUSCRIPTS to the year 1200 A.D., edited by Kirsopp and Silva Lake, 1: MSS. at Jerusalem, Patmos and Athens," Folio; DAVIES (H. W.), "Devices of the early printers: their history and development," 8vo; FRANCE, "Catalogue générale des MSS. des bibliothèques publiques de France, tome 48: Rouen, Amiens, Univ. de Lille et Nancy, Metz," 8vo; FRATI (C.), "Dizionario bio-bibliografico dei bibliotecari e bibliofili italiani dal sec. xiv al xix," 8vo; FRAZER (Sir James), "A bibliography compiled by T. Besterman," 8vo; GAYANGOS (P. de), "Catalogue of the MSS. in the Spanish language in the British Museum," 4 vols., 8vo; JOHNSON (A. F.), "Type designs: their history and development," 8vo; MAZZATINTI (G.) and SORBELLI (A.), "Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia, vol. 55: Bassano del Grappa," 8vo; PALLIS (S. A.), "Essay on Mandaean bibliography, 1560-1930," 8vo; "SCRIPTORIA MEDII AEVI HELVETICA: monuments de la paléographie Suisse du moyen âge réunis et publiés par A. Bruckner," Folio; STAMBOUL, "Les manuscrits orientaux illustrés de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Stamboul, par F. Edhen et I. Stchoukine," 4to; TCHEMERZINE (A.), "Bibliographie d'éditions originales et rares d'auteurs français des 15e à 18e siècles," 10 vols., 8vo.

HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY: ABYDOS. "The temple of King Sethos I at Abydos, copied by A. M. Calverley, . . . and edited by A. H. Gardiner," vol. 1, Folio; "ANNALS OF INISFALLEN, reproduced from the original MS. in the Bodleian (Rawlinson B 503), with a descriptive introduction by R. I. Best and E. McNeill," 4to; ARMSTRONG (E.), "Italian studies, edited by C. M. Day," 8vo; BENTWICH (N.), "Palestine," 8vo; BONIFACE VIII, Pope, "Registres d'après les MSS. originaux des archives du Vatican," 4to; BRISTOL RECORD SOCIETY, "The great Red Book of Bristol," 8vo; BUCKINGHAM, "Calendar of the Sessions Records of the co. of Buckingham, edited by Wm. Le Hardy, vol. 1: 1678-1694, 8vo; BURKE (Sir B.), "A genealogical and heraldic history of The Peerage and Baronetage . . ., 92nd edition," 8vo; CANTERBURY, "William Thorne's chronicle of Saint Augustine's Abbey, now rendered into English by A. H. Davis," 8vo; CLARK (K.), "The Gothic Revival: a study in the history of taste," 8vo; COATE (M.), "Cornwall in the great civil war and interregnum, 1642-1660," 8vo; "CORPUS CODICUM ISLANDICORUM MEDII AEVI, 5: Mödruvallabök (Codex Modruvallensis) MS. 132 in the Arnamagnaean collection in the University Library of Copenhagen [Facsimile], with an introduction by E. O. Sveinsson," Folio; CREEVEY (Thomas), "Life and times: a further selection from his correspondence, edited by J. Gore," 8vo; DAHLMANN-WAITZ, "Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschicht . . . 9e Auflage . . . hgbn. von H. Haering," 2 vols., 8vo; DAVIES (J. D. G.), "Owen Glyn Dwr," 8vo; DAWSON (W. R.), "Charles Wycliffe Goodwin, 1817-1878: a pioneer in Egyptology," 8vo; DUMONT-WILDEN (L.), "Le Prince errant: Charles Edouard le dernier des Stuarts," 8vo; DYBOSKI (R.), "Poland, with a foreword by H. L. Fisher," 8vo; EDINBURGH, "The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club," 19 vols., 8vo.; ERLANGER (P.), "La jeunesse de Henri 3," 8vo; ESPINAS (G.), "Les origines du capitalisme, 1: Sire Jehan Boinebroke, patricien et drapier douaisien (? 1286)," 8vo; FAY (S. B.), "The origins of the world war, new edition," 8vo; FRIEDRICH (J.), "Ras Schamra: ein Ueberblick über Funde und Forschungen," 8vo; FRIEDRICHS (H. F.), "Zur Kenntnis der

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NIETZSCHE AND GOETHE.[1]

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NIETZSCHE and Goethe—the two names do not meet without a shock. At first sight it is the sharp contrast that emerges—the mellow note of Goethe, the shrill, the strident note of Nietzsche; Goethe's reflected sunshine, Nietzsche's thunderbolts; Goethe's mastery of life, Nietzsche's appalling collapse. Would Goethe have shrunk from Nietzsche, one wonders, as he shrank from Heinrich von Kleist, uneasy at the volcanic destructiveness of the man? Perhaps not—for, as I shall indicate, there are other aspects of Nietzsche—yet the contrast remains. Certainly there is much in Nietzsche that Goethe might have repudiated. Most of all, he might have repudiated his haste, his apprehensiveness of catastrophe, his prophetic suspense. Had he not himself lived through the French Revolution and seen the French come and go? And why should not Nietzsche have taken a leaf from his book and looked more to the long future and less to the near? All this and more he might say if he could return to earth and read the works of his junior.

In the biography and the writings of Nietzsche Goethe does not appear prominently as one of Nietzsche's masters. Nietzsche's obvious masters are, first, the Greeks and especially the Pre-Socratic philosophers, then Schopenhauer, then Richard Wagner. None of these points unmistakably to Goethe. Yet there is an underground connection between Schopenhauer and Goethe which Nietzsche may have sensed. For he writes in "Schopenhauer als Erzieher": "Schopenhauer . . . hatte das unbeschreibliche Glück, nicht nur in sich den Genius aus der Nähe zu sehen,

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 14th of March, 1934.

sondern auch ausser sich in Goethe " (I, 473) [1]—a very significant sentence for those who know the third book, the æsthetic book, of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, which reads almost like an elaboration of this thought. And elsewhere he notes " Schopenhauer : vertieft die Weltbetrachtung der Goethe-Schiller-Kultur " (X, 253). But these are only indications. On the whole Schopenhauer and Goethe reached him separately ; they are not nearly as closely associated in his mind as they might have been.

If we ask again whether Nietzsche was alive to the vital relationship between Goethe and the Pre-Socratic philosophers, which it is not hard for us to see to-day, remembering that Thales and Anaxagoras are among the *dramatis personæ* of *Faust*, the answer is once more in the negative. The only hint of the connection that I have been able to find is the note which says " Meine Vorfahren Heraklit, Empedocles, Spinoza, Goethe " (XIV, 263). But while this may suggest an inter-connection, it says no more than that Nietzsche was indebted to them all or that they all meet somehow in his personality. Had he been less strangely indifferent to the meaning of Goethe's scientific studies he would have seen and expressed the connection more clearly.

Yet in spite of the lack of easy evidence in the works, Goethe was very close to Nietzsche from the start. Nothing betrays the mind more surely than the things it quotes and echoes when it is off its guard. Now if there is one writer whom Nietzsche as a young man quotes and echoes constantly it is Goethe. The evidence is strongest in the early letters. Writing to Erwin Rohde on Jan. 16, 1869—Nietzsche is twenty-four at the time—he says, " noch vorige Woche wollte ich dir einmal schreiben und vorschlagen, gemeinsam Chemie zu studieren und die Philologie dorthin zu werfen, wohin sie gehört, zum Urväterhausrat." Not only is this said in Goethe's spirit—though it must be added that Goethe followed up his scientific impulses and Nietzsche did not—but Urväterhausrat is obviously from Faust's monologue

> Mit Instrumenten vollgepropft,
> Urväterhausrat dreingestopft.

[1] The quotations from Nietzsche's works are all taken from the (Kröner) Leipzig edition in 20 vols.

Indeed the passage continues, " Jetzt lockt der Teufel ' Schicksal ' mit einer philologischen Professur." One reference to *Faust*, you see, leads to another. And it is usually *Faust* that Nietzsche quotes, sometimes playfully, as when in an earlier letter to Rohde of Nov. 20, 1868, he parodies the suicide scene and lets Faust drain his inkwell in lieu of a poison-goblet. Less obviously he writes to Rohde—it is always Rohde in these happy days—on March 24, 1871, " Mir würde sonst um meine Unsterblichkeit bange " which almost certainly—quite certainly, I think, in view of its self-irony—echoes Mephistopheles' ironical words to the freshman,

Dir wird gewiss einmal bei deiner Gottähnlichkeit bange.

Or again he writes to the inseparable Rohde at the beginning of 1870: " Die Philologenexistenz in irgend einer kritischen Bestrebung, aber tausend Meilen abseits vom Griechentum, wird mir immer unmöglicher. Auch zweifle ich, ob ich noch je ein rechter Philologe werden könne ; wenn ich es nicht nebenbei, so zufällig erreiche, dann geht es nicht. Das Malheur nämlich ist: ich habe kein Muster und bin in der Gefahr des Narren auf eigne Hand." Once more a Goethe-like reflection, combining, exactly as Goethe did, a distrust of the schools with a reverence for tradition and, more than that, two half-concealed quotations from Goethe. First, the " kritische Bestrebung " is Wagner's

Mir wird, bei meinem kritischen Bestreben,
Doch oft um Kopf und Busen bang,

in the conversation with Faust, while—more interesting still—the " Narr auf eigne Hand " is from that late epigram of Goethe's which being less familiar might easily have escaped the memory of a more perfunctory reader,

Ein Quidam sagt': " Ich bin von keiner Schule!
Kein Meister lebt, mit dem ich buhle;
Auch bin ich weit davon entfernt,
Dass ich von Toten was gelernt."
Das heisst, wenn ich ihn recht verstand:
" Ich bin ein Narr auf eigne Hand."

Moreover, the two quotations are closely related, provided one knows Goethe. From Wagner's conversation with Faust to the scene between Mephistopheles and the student is an easy

transition. Less easy, because *Faust II* was little enough read in those days, the transition to the scene between Mephistopheles and the Baccalaureus, where, exactly as in our epigram, a conceited scholar repudiates all indebtedness to the past and to experience.

Erfahrungswesen! Schaum und Dust!

Clearly Nietzsche's mind was running on these passages as he wrote the letter. He knew his author well enough to travel effortlessly up and down him and to find in him exactly the words he needed.

Nietzsche was faced with a very critical decision at this time. No sooner was he established at Basel with a professorship of Classical Philology than he found himself inwardly at loggerheads with philology. Should he play safe and accept all the insincerities of his profession, or should he go out for larger stakes and release the deeper forces of culture and philosophy that were seething in him? We know what choice he made. *Die Geburt der Tragödie*, published in 1871—within two years of his going to Basel and while he was still in his middle twenties—was not the work of one who could have lived the academic life indefinitely. If ill-health had not taken him out of it, something else would. The decision was quickly made. Yet this does not mean that it was made easily. And in so far as he relied on his masters to guide him, Goethe may have helped him as much as Schopenhauer. Schopenhauer with his unbridled contempt for the profession helped him destructively. Nietzsche writes to Rohde on Dec. 15, 1870: "Auf die Dauer nämlich sehe auch ich ein, was es mit der Schopenhauerischen Lehre von der Universitätsweisheit auf sich hat. Es ist ein ganz radicales Wahrheitswesen hier nicht möglich." Constructively—and his mind was all constructive at this time—he may have got more useful support from Goethe, who pitted Faust's idealism against Wagner's pedantry, and in glowing words showed Nietzsche the better way:

Sitzt ihr nur immer! leimt zusammen,
Braut ein Ragout von andrer Schmaus
Und blast die kümmerlichen Flammen
Aus eurem Aschenhäufchen 'raus!

> Bewundrung von Kindern und Affen,
> Wenn euch darnach der Gaumen steht—
> Doch werdet ihr nie Herz zu Herzen schaffen,
> Wenn es euch nicht von Herzen geht.

And in *Die Geburt der Tragödie* itself—a work truly written from the heart—while on a first reading it looks like a straightforward triple brew—Ancient Greece and Schopenhauer with Richard Wagner added after it had come to the boil—there are other ingredients. Here as in his letters he turns to Goethe for quotations, using the words of the Erdgeist to bring out what he means by Dionysus, using Faust's curse to point his condemnation of Socrates, using Goethe's Prometheus to explain the Greek Prometheus, and so on. What someone has said of Schopenhauer's quotations from Goethe is true also of Nietzsche in this book. Here he quotes Goethe as if Goethe had written to be so quoted. The borrowed words take on a new life in this setting.

Let there be no mistake. Nietzsche in his twenties was soaked in Goethe and nearer to him than he knew. And if in general there appears to have been a certain aloofness in Nietzsche's attitude to him—the very aloofness that Goethe invites—here it would seem as if Goethe's creative life and wisdom had impinged directly on Nietzsche and given him practical guidance at a vital moment.

At this point I must qualify what others have said—Ernst Bertram in the *Festschrift für Berthold Litzmann*, 1921 and Heinz Nicolai in the *Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift*, Sept.-Oct., 1933—to the effect that Nietzsche responded only to the so-called Classical Goethe and was indifferent to the Goethe of Sturm and Drang. Bertram says (p. 321), "In diesem fragmentarischen Goethebilde . . . schwingt so gut wie nichts von dem phantastisch-faustischen Reichtum der Jugendlyrik und Dithyrambik, nichts von Sturm und Drang," and Nicolai (p. 358), "Es war mehrfach darauf hinzuweisen, dass eine Grenze von Nietzsches Goethebild darin zu sehen war, dass er nur durch den mittleren, den klassischen Goethe bestimmt wird, während der junge Goethe völlig in ihm fehlt." This is to set aside all the evidence of Nietzsche's early letters and of the Goethe quotations in *Die Geburt der Tragödie*. Bertram does so on the strength of

Nietzsche's having said to Peter Gast in 1887 that his earliest and strongest impression of Goethe came from the *Löwennovelle*, which is, of course, late Goethe. But this cannot be allowed to shake the abundant evidence that in Nietzsche's first creative period his response to Goethe was as whole-hearted and undiscriminating as his early response to Schopenhauer and Wagner. How else should he have been able at the height of his impassioned argument in *Die Geburt der Tragödie* to turn in such ardent sympathy to the Erdgeist and to Prometheus, to say nothing of other less obvious references to early Goethe. Moreover, it is fair to ask whether in 1870—before the discovery of the *Urfaust*—it was possible for the student of Goethe to draw the sharp line between Frankfurt and Weimar that we draw—a little too sharply perhaps—to-day. Be that as it may, Nietzsche drew no line at all till after *Die Geburt der Tragödie*. The beginning of his discrimination against certain aspects of Goethe came somewhat later after he had felt the early mood—especially the early Faustian mood—to the full.

The subsequent history of Nietzsche's response to Goethe is not what one would expect from these beginnings. If at the start it was partly, perhaps chiefly through *Faust* that Nietzsche saw Goethe, it is *Faust* that he now reacts against decisively and finally. His ridicule of *Faust* begins almost immediately. We may not find it explicitly in the *Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen*, where his allegiances are still those, essentially, of *Die Geburt der Tragödie*, but in *Menschliches Allzumenschliches* it can be seen in full blast, as for example, " Man soll auch gegen den Teufel honnett sein und seine Schulden bezahlen, sagte ein alter Soldat, als man ihm die Geschichte Faustens etwas genauer erzählt hatte, Faust gehört in die Hölle ! "—" Oh ihr schrecklichen Männer ! rief seine Gattin aus, wie ist das nur möglich ! Er hat ja nichts gethan, als keine Tinte im Tintenfass gehabt ! Mit Blut schreiben ist freilich eine Sünde, aber desshalb soll ein so schöner Mensch doch nicht brennen ? " (III, 226).

This is characteristic of the change and it is a change that has come to stay. The references to *Faust* from now on are either indifferent or destructive, usually the latter. Faust is sentimental or it is wrongheaded, there is no reprieve. If in one place

Nietzsche goes the length of suggesting—not with much foundation, it must be admitted—that Napoleon's example led Goethe to revise his conception of *Faust*, there is nothing to show that Nietzsche has revised his.

This is strange, for Nietzsche is himself of the Faustian sort. Not only was he close to the Faustian mood in Goethe at the beginning but, as he grows, one would say that he becomes more Faustian, that the Nietzsche of *Zarathustra* has moved towards *Faust*, not away from it. Why then this *volte-face*? Is it because he was so near to *Faust* that he turned against it, in the spirit in which the extreme left of a movement is quickest to pick holes in the less extreme? Probably, for Nietzsche seems always to have envisaged Faust as one like himself—a seeker after the truth. This theoretical enquiry accords well enough with the opening monologue, but it is, as Nietzsche found, a poor guide to the rest of the poem. From this fixed angle the Gretchen tragedy is a sad declension, we are no nearer to true knowledge at the end than at the beginning. And so on throughout. Nietzsche never seems to have weighed the question how *Faust* should be read. He insisted on reading it as he first read it in the days when he wrote to Rohde that one could not be a professor and honestly seek after the truth. In this spirit he writes in *Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft*: "Man muss den Deutschen ihren Mephistopheles ausreden: und ihren Faust dazu. Es sind nur zwei moralische Vorurteile gegen den Wert der Erkenntniss" (V, 187). And again, "Und sein Faust—welches zufällige und zeitliche und wenig notwendige und dauerhafte Problem! eine Entartung des Erkennenden, ein Kranker,—Nichts mehr! Keineswegs die Tragödie des Erkennenden selber! Nicht einmal die des freien Geistes" (XIII, 335). One sees here how close he was to *Faust*, how personally he took it—he the "free spirit" and tragic moralist. And a little earlier he had noted "Faust, die Trägodie der Erkenntniss? Wirklich? Ich lache über Faust" (XII, 246).

From this point of view, seeing *Faust* in this strictly theoretical—instead of in a more human, flexible, autobiographical—light there was nothing else for him to do. Besides, in so far as *Faust* ranked as the greatest of German books, Nietzsche was chal-

lenging it with his *Zarathustra* and confident that he would succeed in ousting it.

But this does not mean that Nietzsche had done with Goethe. Far from it. True, Goethe comes in for his share of the knocks. Nietzsche, the swift master of prose, does not spare the dictated prose of Goethe's old age; he finds it heavy and he finds it garrulous. He also took every opportunity to stress the cautious side of Goethe; he does this in "Schopenhauer als Erzieher," when he contrasts the unheroic ideal of Goethe with the heroic ideal which he himself upheld. And in the years that followed it is the calmly Classical Goethe that he usually singles out, excluding henceforth not only the Faustian side of the man but also the more problematic, the more dangerous, aspects of his Classicism. The hints of Dionysian ecstasy that we find in *Satyros*, *Prometheus*, and *Faust II*; the radical moral issues of the Italian Journey; the playful but far from Winckelmannish adventure into Greek origins that produced the Klassische Walpurgisnacht—of these indications and more than indications Nietzsche takes no notice at all. In short, he ignores or tends to ignore all those aspects of Goethe that brought Goethe near to him and looked only at what was further away—the calm, the poise, the tolerance, Goethe "danebenstehend," as he put it. Here again I am not in complete agreement with Bertram. If there is truth in his "Maskentheorie" that Nietzsche used Goethe, as he used others, in order to express himself in disguise, thus distorting Goethe's image into a likeness or a caricature of himself, it is equally true that he saw him in contrast with himself and distorted him in the opposite way. Nietzsche's reaction to Goethe was one of extraordinary complexity and even Bertram's subtlety is unable to do justice to the iridescence of it.

In this baffling light Nietzsche seems a dangerous guide. Yet when all abatements have been made, Goethe comes off in the long run better than any of the great thinkers whom Nietzsche scrutinised. And towards the last, in the forty-ninth aphorism of the *Götzendämmerung* he rises in his astonishing way to a concentrated word-picture of Goethe which we can safely rank with Schiller's masterly letter to Goethe of August 23, 1794, and with the best that the best critics have said since. It is the only

summing-up of Goethe that we find in Nietzsche; all other references are partial or by the way. And here, for once, he seems splendidly impersonal.

Goethe—kein deutsches Ereigniss, sondern ein europäisches: ein grossartiger Versuch, das achtzehnte Jahrhundert zu überwinden durch eine Rückkehr zur Natur, durch ein Hinaufkommen zur Natürlichkeit der Renaissance, eine Art Selbstüberwindung von Seiten dieses Jahrhunderts.—Er trug dessen stärkste Instinkte in sich: die Gefühlsamkeit, die Natur-Idolatrie, das Antihistorische, das Idealistische, das Unreale und Revolutionäre. . . . Er nahm die Historie, die Naturwissenschaft, die Antike, insgleichen Spinoza zu Hülfe, vor Allem die praktische Tätigkeit; er umstellte sich mit lauter geschlossenen Horizonten; er löste sich nicht vom Leben ab, er stellte sich hinein; er war nicht verzagt und nahm so viel als möglich auf sich, über sich, in sich. Was er wollte, das war Totalität; er bekämpfte das Auseinander von Vernunft, Sinnlichkeit, Gefühl, Wille (—in abschreckendster Scholastik durch Kant gepredigt, den Antipoden Goethe's); er disciplinirte sich zur Ganzheit, er schuf sich. . . . Ein solcher freigewordener Geist steht mit einem freudigen und vertrauenden Fatalismus mitten im All, im Glauben, dass nur das Einzelne verwerflich ist, dass im Ganzen sich Alles erlöst und bejaht. . . . (VIII, 162-3).

It is perhaps worth noting—this rejection of *Faust* and this exalting of Goethe to a supreme position. The more so as English criticism, never quite at home with Goethe, has yet to learn the lesson it teaches, namely, that great as *Faust* is—Nietzsche's injustice to it is patent—Goethe is much greater. Everything goes to show that Nietzsche in the very act of writing this magnificent eulogy was as contemptuous of *Faust* as any of its most hostile critics. One may well ask whether Goethe has ever been paid a higher compliment.

It is very characteristic of Nietzsche that in this aphorism he tends to see Goethe in isolation. Beginning with the characteristics of his century, Goethe—he says—draws away from his century and becomes "a realist in an unreal age," a genius self-contained and self-determined. Elsewhere he describes Goethe as "der Ausnahme-Deutsche" (V, 137), and again he calls him

" in der Geschichte der Deutschen ein Zwischen fall ohne Folgen " (III, 265). And far from reading him in terms of any century, eighteenth or nineteenth, he says that Goethe has outleapt several generations and that we have not yet caught him up. Here again is an aspect of Goethe too little regarded in English criticism, which prefers to see him rather as the representative of a past epoch than as an individual not yet fully comprehended.

Nietzsche unsettles our easy historical survey; he always does. He throws inter-relations aside and plunges us deeper into personalities than we are accustomed to go. By the time we have submitted to him fully and digested his remarks on this personality and that—Goethe, Shakespeare, Pascal, Rousseau, Herder, and so on—our attitude to the history of literature and to æsthetics is subtly transformed. The easy time-perspectives disappear and new and exciting ones take their place. It is here rather than in the Apollo-Dionysus theory that Nietzsche's greater service to criticism lies.

This leads back to Goethe by another door. In the searching light which Nietzsche throws on the problems of personality in art and letters he is with Goethe and no other. Their outlook is not identical and Goethe's outlook is the more profound, yet they pull strangely together. Nietzsche for his part seems to see personality everywhere and to be content with that. Speaking of philosophical systems he says that even if they are all wrong they have something irrefutable in them, namely, the personal note. " Wer dagegen an grossen Menschen überhaupt seine Freude hat, hat auch seine Freude an solchen Systemen, seien sie auch ganz irrtümlich: sie haben doch einen Punkt in sich, der ganz unwiderleglich ist, eine persönliche Stimmung, Farbe . . ." (X, 5). From this, he says, we can reconstruct the philosopher just as from a plant we can infer the soil in which it grew. The simile is fundamental and he meant it to be. He continues: " Diese Art zu leben und die menschlichen Dinge anzusehen ist jedenfalls einmal dagewesen und also möglich." For Nietzsche, it would seem, personality is final and we cannot or need not go beyond it. He says it or hints it a thousand times, and he teaches us to see personality where we had never dreamed of seeing it.

Goethe teaches us to do the same, not because he talks about it,—he hardly ever plays the professional critic—but because he practises it, making himself, his own personality, the instrument of his own truth in a way for which there was no precedent. When we have finished reading Goethe—if we ever finish—we read all books differently. All our comfortable generalisations about impersonality and truth, about subjective and objective are impossible now. In him the personal merges into the impersonal, the particular into the general in such a variety of ways that like Nietzsche he gives us a new standard, a new orientation in aesthetics. The professional writers on aesthetics are altogether less potent than these two, Nietzsche and Goethe, who did not on the whole choose to compete with them. Nietzsche teaches us better or more directly than Goethe how to discover the personal in the works of others; Goethe teaches us better than Nietzsche that the personal cannot be circumvented and that it can be turned to the ultimate ends of man. Between them they offer what is perhaps the most radical experience in the field of æsthetics that the modern reader can find.

It is not an accident that throws them together in this way, nor is it that the one was consciously or unconsciously following the other. If these two illuminate, as no others do, the relation of art and philosophy to personality it is because they were both artists and philosophers of an unusually personal kind. Goethe's case is less in need of elucidation. We are beginning to understand him in the twentieth century and to see how he clung always to the findings of his own experience and on these premisses, and on these alone, felt his way to an independent position in philosophy alongside of Kant and Plato—Simmel, Cassirer, and others have indicated this sufficiently—with the result that in all his immense record we cannot touch his thought anywhere without touching himself and we cannot touch himself without touching his thought. Those who do not know this do not know Goethe.

Now can we not apply these very words to Nietzsche? Is it not arrestingly true of him that wherever we touch him we touch him to the quick and that, just as in Goethe, there is no escaping the personal in him. This is strange because it is evident that

he did not live as Goethe lived. We do not, if we read his life, find him again and again absorbed in living emotionally and practically with men and things to be driven back by them, laden and enriched, to his creative activity. On the contrary the more we examine him, the more he seems centred in his studies and his writing. Reading or writing incessantly from first to last, he goes from school—Schulpforta, a famous and strenuous school—to the University, where he passes quickly from freshman to professor, from the University to the life of a lonely scholar, with now and then a companion or two but often with none, from this to insanity and death. What chance was there here for rich experience, for living first and writing afterwards? Does he not cry out at the time of his rupture with Rée and Lou-Salomé, who had brought him nearest to an emotional adventure, "Es steht schlimm mit meiner Menschenkennerei," and again, "Die Wahrheit ist, dass alle meine bisherigen Stellungen zu allen Menschen falsche sind"?[1] And from then on to the end he was the loneliest genius in Europe. Here the contrast is extreme. Nietzsche's way of life was incredibly sequestered and intellectual; Goethe's by comparison was open to every wind that blew.

Yet there is not in Nietzsche the throttling of the emotions that we would expect. The last thing we can say of him is that he was all intellect. Instead, we find that his intellectual life was as constantly thrilled with emotional cross-currents as Goethe's. So much so that Janko Lavrin, in his *Studies in European Literature* (1929), says of him, and says truthfully, "Whatever our opinion of Nietzsche's views may be, we feel in them all the pathos, all the passion, all the contradictions of life." His inability to find emotional release in outer relationships—he was once, it seems, drunk with liquor, never quite in love with a woman—seems to have had the extraordinary effect in his case of pitchforking his emotions into his intellect. Instead of becoming atrophied, his emotions get into the wrong box and make all his thinking strangely excited and incalculable. It is as if his intellect were the seat of his emotions. Explain it

[1] See *Der einsame Nietzsche*, pp. 236, 238.

as we may—there is no case like it—his emotional intellect—if I may call it that—enables him, forces him, to throw himself, whole and undivided, into all he writes and says in a fashion which compels us to associate him with Goethe as one who must speak with his entire personality or not at all.

It is for this inner reason that both Nietzsche and Goethe had no choice but to become " philosophers of life "—Lebensphilosophen—and to care only with heart and soul for the highest values. Here their attitude to poetry is characteristic. They were both poets—not Goethe alone—yet neither was content to indulge the vein of poetry that was in him for its own sake, as poets usually do. Goethe, as we know, distrusted or grew to distrust the free imaginative use that older poets had made of poetry and insisted tacitly on subordinating it to his living experience. Poetry for him had to come out of living or not at all ; he jeopardised his poetic gifts, letting them lie unused for long periods, rather than compromise with them or let them function *in vacuo*. Nietzsche goes one step further and, with a rich vein of poetry in him, virtually refuses to be a poet. As far as may be, he suppresses or curbs his poetic voice, crowds it out intellectually. If it gets the upper hand now and then—in a few lyrics and in *Zarathustra*—it is not for long. He is not satisfied to be only a poet—" Nur Narr, nur Dichter." In his case as in Goethe's the vital philosophical passion dominates the poetic.

Or again, Nietzsche may study philology. Goethe may study science ; yet they cannot isolate these pursuits. They both become unorthodox and offend the schoolmen by the very fact that their natures force them to relate these pursuits to their lives, to their morals, to their philosophy. It might be hard to find a third writer or thinker who, sharing their blend of poetry and philosophy, vied with them in the completeness of absorption, the all-or-nothing psychology, which these two lived by, Nietzsche feverishly, Goethe at a more normal temperature. It was not for nothing that Nietzsche was one of the first to sense the Goethean " Totalität " because in his own more febrile, less comprehensive nature he had experienced a similar assembling of all that was in him.

In points of detail it would be possible to carry the com-

parison much further. Nietzsche himself did not fail to recognise some of the elements in Goethe's thought that anticipated his own. Thus, in the preface to that excellent essay "Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie fur das Leben," he notes that Goethe "mit gutem Rechte gesagt hat, dass wir mit unsren Tugenden zugleich auch unsere Fehler anbauen" (I, 281)—a sentence which quietly lifts us "beyond good and evil" without making a noise about it. And a little later, in *Menschliches Allzumenschliches*, he refers approvingly to Goethe's maxim, "dass man oft dem Irrthume nicht schaden dürfe, um der Wahrheit nicht zu schaden" (III, 143), which voices the same open-mindedness in the sphere of knowledge. Points like these may have served to remind Nietzsche, as they serve to remind us, that behind Goethe's apparent acquiescence there is a sceptic and a radical—perhaps as fearless a radical and as searching a sceptic as Nietzsche himself.

But it would be mistaken on the strength of all this evidence to go the length of Korff in his *Lebensidee Goethes* and maintain that Nietzsche was only a pupil of Goethe's—"nur ein Goetheschüler." This is excessive. It is what happens when the critic is bent on relating his authors to each other without making sure that he has first gone to the heart of each one separately. Nietzsche was not Goethe's pupil in the sense that his main thought follows from Goethe, because—to say nothing of the difference between them in tempo—on the most important ground of all Nietzsche and Goethe are opposed. They are opposed in their conception of nature and one cannot disagree with Goethe at this point and remain his pupil. It is essential to Goethe's position that there should be laws and values in nature and that these should be basic in human morals. Take these away and there is no Goethe left. When Schopenhauer said to him in the usual idealistic terms that the sun only existed because he saw it and Goethe corrected him saying "No, you only exist because the sun sees you" he was not playing with paradox. He was moving back quickly, instinctively, to his true centre and coign of vantage—nature, for him the source of all reality. truth, morals. His whole life, we might say, was spent in investigating this profound conviction.

What does Nietzsche say of nature? He says many things. But on the essential point he is clear enough. He says, "Die Natur ist immer wertlos" (V, 231)—this at the most balanced time of his life in *Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft*. Elsewhere he says "Meine Brüder, die Natur ist dumm: und soweit wir Natur sind, sind wir alle dumm" (XII, 239), and again, "Es giebt keine Form in der Natur" (X, 156). To say that Nietzsche was quite able to maintain this extreme position would be to outdo him in violence of statement. There are passages which modify these extreme views and there are early statements—early statements only—which conflict with them. But all these are easily outnumbered, and in respect of law in nature there is no compromise. For Nietzsche law in nature is simply a misnomer—"schlechte Philologie" (VII, 34). If he had been present at the conversation between Schopenhauer and Goethe he would probably have disagreed with both in so far as, unlike these two, he tended to lose interest in purely metaphysical questions. But if they had transferred their argument to the moral sphere Nietzsche would have had to go with Schopenhauer against Goethe. For Nietzsche the only laws in nature are those we put there.

The antithesis with Goethe at this point is a little surprising. For most readers of Nietzsche will agree that if the question were sprung on them they would be tempted to say off-hand that on philosophical questions of nature Nietzsche is with Goethe, not against him. There is a reason for this. Up to a point he is with Goethe; then and then only he turns his back on him. He is with Goethe in affirming and recovering the innocence of nature, in ridding it of evil associations. Hence he is able to write in apparent, but only apparent, opposition to the above passages his aphorism, Gegen die Verleumder der Natur (V, 224).

Das sind mir unangenehme Menschen, bei denen jeder natürliche Hang sofort zur Krankheit wird, zu etwas Entstellendem oder gar Schmählichem,—diese haben uns zu der Meinung verführt, die Hänge und Triebe des Menschen seien böse; sie sind die Ursache unserer grossen Ungerechtigkeit gegen unsere Natur, gegen alle Natur. . . ." Goethe would have endorsed this. And this too, "Es ist kein Schmutzfleck in der Natur, das

haben wir erst hineingelegt." (XI, 248). Here again is a point on which he never wavers. But notice the difference. Nietzsche wishes to free nature of guilt in order that it may be a clean sheet for man to write on ; Goethe frees it and keeps it free so that it may speak with its own voice. In Nietzsche the organic principle is lacking, in Goethe it is basic. Nietzsche is the psychologist making elbow-room for himself in the outer world ; Goethe the metaphysician and searcher in religion deciphering the handwriting of nature spread before him.

Thus the essential point of sympathy between them and the essential point of divergence are closely juxtaposed. It is here—before they go off to right and left—that these two so different temperaments are closest to each other. What they share is a sweetness, a wholesomeness about the roots of life, possible only for those who see that wholesomeness in nature. That Goethe was possessed of this quality needs no arguing. It is written large over his long life. By virtue of it he remained naive, humble, ungrudging, undefensive, unpolemical to the last. Moreover, Nietzsche was fully and gratefully alive to this side of him. " Goethe, der Neidlose," he calls him in more places than one. And he commends also his dislike of polemic and interference.

But these, you may say, are not Nietzsche's qualities. Was not Nietzsche the great interferer, the great iconoclast among the moderns ? Did he not end by styling himself the philosopher " with the hammer ? " Was he not the scourge of all and the sparer of none ? True, he was all that. But underneath, so deep-seated and inseparable from him that we cannot agree to call it secondary, is a nature of the Goethean sweetness and purity. That is why Nietzsche is for all who know him well enough so winning, so disarming a personality. A recent English critic, Mr. G. Sainsbury, in *Some Makers of the Modern Spirit* (ed. J. MacMurray, 1933) professes to find Nietzsche actuated by a sense of guilt. But he does not give chapter and verse for this opinion and I can find none for him. At the core his nature is all innocence—" immer kindlich "—like Goethe's. The good conscience, the cleanness of spirit, which he strove to give to others was his always. Even the violent hostilities which

engaged him could not destroy it. The fragments of it lie strewn among his ruins.

As usual, Goethe, always master of himself in the end, exemplifies this quality in his art of living; he says little about it and leaves us to find it slowly for ourselves. Nietzsche drags it into the daylight and turns it this way and that, urging his fellowmen to sweeten the foundations of their lives, to unlearn their guilt and their fears, to accept things. Nietzsche is with the great teachers here. He will perhaps be read for this when his supermen and eternal recurrences are forgotten. "Denn eins ist noth: dass der Mensch seine Zufriedenheit mit sich erreiche" (V, 220), he says in that happy January of 1882—the Sanctus Januarius—and he says there also, "Ich will keinen Krieg gegen das Hässliche führen. Ich will nicht anklagen, ich will nicht einmal die Ankläger anklagen" (V, 209).

Here, if anywhere, is the starting-point for that conversation in the shades between Goethe and Nietzsche which all of us would be eager to hear, whether we hold it possible or not. The only certainty is that we cannot conduct it ourselves, but must leave it to them.

ASPECTS OF SUMERIAN CIVILIZATION DURING THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR.

WITH EVIDENCE FROM TABLETS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

By The Reverend T. FISH, Ph.D. (Cantab.).

II.—About Wool.

AN eminent Assyriologist told the writer that whenever he came across a Sumerian tablet of the kind published in the Catalogue,[1] he dropped it at once because " they are so deadly dull ". And that might serve as one of the reasons why the tablets published in the Catalogue appeared without translations.

But though it is true that these small tablets are very dull in isolation, they improve when restored to their context ; i.e. to the general class or subject with which they deal. They then appear as so many separate incidents in the very interesting story of local achievement. Each tablet does indeed tell of the efforts, day by day and year by year, of men and women and children who made the local raw material available for human use as food, clothing and shelter, for themselves and their contemporaries in south Mesopotamia during the Third Dynasty of Ur, i.e. about 2300 B.C. When put together and interpreted these tablets describe the working life of a society largely agricultural. They are records of land, its working and its produce ; of animals and animal products ; of simple industries working on the native basic materials.

The tablets come from different towns of Sumer ; from Nippur in the north to Lagash in the south, with Umma close by

[1] *Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library*, by T. Fish. 1932.

Lagash and Drehem near to Nippur. Of these Nippur is the least known during this period. The others are well known: Lagash with its variegated labour, Umma predominantly agricultural, and Drehem whose tablets are almost exclusively animal memoranda as though the place served only as an animal depot at which every stage from the delivery to the final destiny of the animals was recorded and the record preserved in the local archive.

We shall be concerned in this article with one particular class of animals: the sheep and the goats; and with the special product of these: wool and hair. Our evidence will come almost exclusively from Lagash and Umma tablets, including some tablets from the Rylands collection. It is instructive that the Drehem tablets which are very numerous and contain numberless references to sheep and goats, are silent concerning wool and hair.

It is true to say that as soon as men began to write at all in Sumer they wrote about sheep. They continued to write about them throughout the long time during which the original picture passed into an unrecognizable group of wedges. And men of that same land are still writing of sheep to merchants of our own Bradford in Yorkshire. For they were in the recorded beginning and still are economic staples in that country. In the third millennium they are mentioned singly and in hundreds. Among the largest, if not the largest numbers quoted, during the Third Dynasty of Ur, are the following from Lagash:

7 flocks of ewes, rams, and goats belonging to a certain Ur^{d}Kadi and to the palace, totalling 2314.[1]

Another,[2] totalling 2259 sheep and lambs.

Largest[3] of all by far: 27,600 ewes, 17,084 sheep, and 9939 lambs.

Here to be sure is wool in abundance if men will but shear the sheep.

The Sumerian word for "to shear" is *ur*, semitic *ḫamamu*. The sign by which this word was represented is illuminating. It is the picture of a comb, complete with teeth and handle.

[1] Hussey, *Sumerian Tablets* (S.T.), II., no. 34. [2] *Ibid.*, no. 37.
[3] Invent. TDT., vol. iv. 7002.

This suggests that the wool or hair was plucked out rather than cut off. The operation is recorded on texts of *c.* 2800 B.C., but not often. Similarly on our tablets, about 500 years later, there are singularly few references to shearing.[1] But two of the references are very interesting. It is recorded [2] that 2259 sheep were shorn on one day during the third year of King Bur Sin; and 2314 on one day of his first year.[3] Both these Lagash and one Adab text [4] explicitly connect the wool supply with the shearing operation.

Occasionally the yield of wool from a specified number of sheep is given:

24 ewes, 29 male sheep, 5 female and 5 male lambs; their wool is 1 talent, 50 mina.[5]

5 ewes, 18 male sheep, 1 female lamb, 2 male lambs; their wool is 36 and 2/3 mina, 5 shekels.[6]

Total: 2 talents, $2\frac{1}{2}$ mina of wool; its sheep are $24\frac{1}{2}$.[7]

30 male sheep, their wool is 40 mina less 17 shekels.[8]

35 sheep, 41 goats, their wool/hair is 58 mina and 1/3.[9]

The weight of a mina at this period was *c.* 505 grammes. A mina was equal to 60 shekels; and 60 mina made a talent.

Unfortunately we have no data of this period to enable us to say for certain whether any special month was the month in which sheep were shorn.

At Adab sheep were shorn in the palace (*é-gal-la al-ur*). The Sumerian word for wool/hair, is *sig*, semitic *šipatu*. It was originally written pictographically as a piece of stuff across and down which lines, to represent threads, are drawn. Wool and hair were got from sheep and goats, of course. Sometimes the phrases "sheep's wool" [10] and "goat's hair" [11] are used but most frequently the word *sig* stands alone; it is rarely doubtful

[1] *Orientalia*, 47-49, no. 219; Lau O.B.T.R. no. 258: Inv. TDT. 1012, iv. 7764.

[2] Hussey, *l.c.* no. 37, R. 17. [3] *Ibid.*, no. 34.

[4] Luckenbill, Inscriptions from Adab, no. 155.

[5] *Analecta Orientalia*, 7, no. 260, 9 f. [6] *Ibid.*, no. 340, 13.

[7] Chiera, STA. 17, col. II, 22. [8] Luckenbill, *l.c.* no. 155.

[9] Legrain, TRU. 188, 3. [10] *E.g.* J.R. 598.

[11] *E.g.* at Lagash, cp. Invent. TDT., vol. iii. no. 5398; at Umma, cp. *Or.* 47-49, no. 462; at Drehem, cp. Legrain, TRU. 382, 9.

whether wool or hair is indicated. Goat's hair is never further differentiated, whereas wool is differentiated according to its colour, the kind of sheep whence it is derived, and the quality of garment in which it is used.

In point of colour, sheep were differentiated into *udu* simply and *udu gig*, that is black sheep. At a date earlier than Ur III, sheep were occasionally described as " white " (*udu babbar*) ; [1] this particular differentiation is seldom found on Ur III tablets.[2] It is said that at the present day black and browns largely predominate in southern Mesopotamia. In accordance with this colour variety of sheep, wool was occasionally differentiated, as black wool [3] and as white wool ; but I think on one tablet only during Ur III.[4]

Sheep are occasionally [5] described as mountain sheep (*udu kur-ra*). Hence we read of " wool of mountain sheep " [6] or simply " wool of the mountain ".[7] Sheep are described as *gi* sheep.[8] Does this fact help in the interpretation of *gi* wool, i.e. wool from *gi* sheep, bearing in mind what has just been noted, viz. : that mountain-sheep wool is sometimes written " mountain wool "? Unfortunately the meaning of *gi* in this context is obscure. Deimel suggests " gelbe " and Legrain " laine entière opposée à la laine déchirée par les épines " (*sig gir gul*).[9] The word *gi* in Temple Accounts most frequently means *reed*. It may therefore, in the phrases *gi*-sheep, *gi*-wool, mean sheep, wool of the colour of the reed. On a Lagash tablet [10] *sig* and *sig-gi* are used interchangeably. On another Lagash tablet [11] which records wool for various uses, the total wool is differentiated into good quality wool (*sig-šig*) and *gi*-wool.

[1] SAK., p. 48, 3 : 19.

[2] White *gukkal-sheep*, *Or.* 22, p. 19 ; skins of white sheep, *An. Or.* 7, p. 162.

[3] *Or.* 47-49, no. 291, 3 ; no. 296, 10 ; *Analect. Or.* 7, no. 319, 9 ; Legrain, TRU. 382.

[4] Luckenbill, *l.c.* no. 166, 2.

[5] See *Or.* vol. 22, p. 26 ; Inv. TDT., vol. iv. 7369.

[6] *Analect. Or.* 7, no. 262, 15.

[7] Legrain, TRU. 382 ; *Or.* 47-49, no. 173, etc. ; Inv. TDT., vol. ii. 768, 1021.

[8] Inv. TDT., vol. iv. 7525.

[9] Sum. Lex. Heft 17, 539 : 29 ; Legrain, TRU., p. 77, n. 5.

[10] Hussey, *l.c.* no. 48.

[11] *Ibid.*, no. 5, Rev. col., II.

The use of wool in the making of garments is often mentioned; garments of all descriptions: new garments, royal garments, and less distinguished garments whose names are of obscure meaning.

Before we proceed to speak of wool as a thing of merchandise, it may be well to recall that our tablets are not private memoranda but are the account books of the business of *the* big business organization of the town. This was the Temple. The Temple was the centre not only of religion but of the business life of the community. Here was the Cathedral, the Town Hall, the Courts and the Exchange. Together these formed the Sumerian "temple". And because the tablets which have come down to us are concerned with Temple administration, they are called Temple Accounts. We might rightly call them Community Records, concerned not so much with private business as with business transacted by the Town Council whose duty was to supply the needs of the local shrines of gods and goddesses, to meet the demands of local administration and to contribute to the royal and national income by dues and taxes regularly collected and forwarded. The labour which this involved was admirably organized. It was checked, accounted for, and recorded by a system of book-keeping which seems to have had everything except "double entry". Most of our knowledge of contemporary administration is drawn from the "books" of the temple firm: invoices, bills, orders, wage lists, balance sheets. It is an interesting story which, perhaps, will one day be told in the BULLETIN. At the same time we must observe that these Temple Records are evidence of only one part of local business, viz.: public, or community business. They of necessity do not record the other part of the business activity, viz.: private transactions. That there were such is to be presumed and, in point of fact, is implied in the many legal decisions (*di-til-la*) of this period.

We may with reason presume that the Temple which had such large flocks, would have large quantities of wool. But one gets the general impression from the records of this time that Sumer consumed all that she produced of the basic wealth of the land: barley, oil and wool. It would seem that economically the situa-

tion may fairly be stated thus: the area of consumption was coterminous with the area of production.

Now in the matter of wool we know that it was used extensively to make clothing of various qualities and kinds. Also that it was payed out as wages (*sig-ba*) to couriers (*uku-us*),[1] clothiers (*lu-tug*)[2] and, as will be illustrated later, to weavers. It may be doubted whether, when all the obvious needs had been supplied, much would remain for use as merchandise. Yet there is explicit record of a shop where wool was sold (*é-sig-sum-ma*).[3]

Merchants and their wares are mentioned on the tablets, and it would be possible to make a list of the goods in which they traded. But here we need only consider the merchant and wool. I know of only one text of this time which records that merchants received wool; 130 talents 7 shekels of it.[4] A large quantity, to be sure. Three other tablets[5] give a long inventory of a merchant's stock. The amounts of wool therein listed are respectively: 19 talents, 13 mina; 7·2/3 mina, 5 shekels; 8 talents; and 20 talents, 1 mina. Clearly the evidence is scanty.

What of the price of wool, or its value in silver? Five tablets —all from Umma—furnish us with the value of wool at intervals during a period of twelve years. In chronological order the years and their data are:

(i) In the 46th year of Sulgi:
"10 shekels of silver; its wool (value) is 1 talent, 40 mina."[6]

(ii) In the 4th year of Bur Sin:
"7·2/3 mina, 5 shekels of wool (?) its silver (value) $4\frac{1}{2}$ shekels 26 she" (i.e. $\frac{26}{180}$ shekels).[7]

(iii) In the 6th year of Bur Sin:
"8 talents of wool, the 5th year of Bur Sin, its silver (value) 5/6 mina, 3·1/3 shekels."[8]
"20 talents of wool, its silver (value), 2 mina."[9]
"1 mina of wool, its silver (value) 20 she."[10]

[1] STD. no. 101; Inv. TDT., vol. iii. 6359; *An. Or.* 7, no. 125, R21.
[2] Inv. TDT., vol. ii. 651.
[3] Inv. TDT., vol. ii. 902.
[4] Hussey, *l.c.* no. 158.
[5] Chiera, STA., nos. 1, 22 and 23.
[6] *An. Or.* I. no. 70, 1-3.
[7] Chiera, STA., no. 22, col. iii. 16.
[8] *Ibid.*, 23, I: 9.
[9] *Ibid.*, 23, I: 11.
[10] *Ibid.*, 23, I: 13.

(iv) In the 8th year of Bur Sin :

"19 talents 13 mina of wool, its money value 1½ mina 6 shekels (igi ?-gal ?) 15 she." [1]

(v) In the 3rd year of Gimil Sin :

"5 mina of *gi* wool, its value ½ shekel." [2]

From the above data it follows that in Shulgi 46 and Gimil Sin 3, 1 mina of wool was valued at 1/10 of a shekel of silver. So, too, according to one of three entries, in B.S.6. But in that same year of Bur Sin, some wool was valued at 1/9 of a silver shekel for 1 mina of wool. And in the eighth year of Bur Sin a mina of wool was valued at about 1/12 of a silver shekel. So that during those twelve years from Shulgi 46 to Gimil Sin 3, the value of wool remained fairly constant, moving between 1/9 and 1/12 of a silver-shekel per mina of wool. It is doubtful whether the entry under Bur Sin 4 is really of wool ; the sign is not clear in Chiera's copy which suggests obscurity on the original tablet. If it is wool, then in that year wool was of an exceptional value. Compared with the average for other years, viz. : 10 mina of wool for 1 shekel of silver, 7 3/4 mina of wool was valued at approximately 4·2/3 shekels of silver in the fourth of Bur Sin.

A Lagash tablet [3] records 8 ship loads of wool exported to Ur. Wool was worked by weavers, a distinct class attached to the Temple. Weavers are called *ushbar*, or, more usually *gim ushbar*. The latter name is a compound of *gim*, semitic *amtu*, a slave girl, and *ushbar*, whence the semitic *ishparu*, *ishpartu*, weaver. It would seem, therefore, that the females employed in the weaving industry were slaves. It is not certain that all the male weavers were.

One text [4] of this period from Umma reads :

Lugalazida, his price, 10 shekels of silver ;
Ninzaggisi 7 shekels,
Amakalla 7 shekels,
slave girls (and) slave of Lugalgarsie, steward of the weavers.

The names suggest that the first named is the male, and the two latter the female slaves ; the price suggests the same. If this

[1] Chiera, STA., I, 1 : 6.
[2] JR. 595.
[3] Inv. TDT., vol. ii. 916.
[4] STD. 215.

is a record of the purchase of slaves for the weaving industry, as it may well be, it is the only one of this period.

Another Umma tablet [1] reads :

" 30 qa Gim^{d} Enki, from the 2nd month to the 12th month, as weaver (*ush-bar-šù*), from Ur^{d}Numushda, Ludingirra has stored (*ni-dur*)." Even if this does not—and it probably does—refer to the wages (30 *qa*) of a weaver, other tablets give us some information of wages paid. Wages were paid in wool,[2] barley, dates, oil and fish. The amount of barley varies. Thus an undated tablet from Lagash [3] allows 40 *qa* of barley to the weavers and 20 *qa* to their children. Whereas another tablet [4] from Umma allows the weavers 30 *qa* daily.

Olive oil was paid out at the rate of 1 *qa*, *i.e.* about $1\frac{1}{2}$ pints ; [5] only 1/6 of that amount was allowed according to another tablet ; [6] but, it must be added, in this instance the weavers received 5 *qa* of dates in addition to the oil.

Incidentally we have a side light on the number of weavers employed. During a period of 5 months, 6406 weavers were employed around Lagash. They are divided into districts : at Girsu there were 1051 ; at Kinurki Ninaki, 1143 ; at Tigabbaki there were 4272.[7] Whether these were 6406 distinct persons, or whether the total is of the number of weaver units engaged during all or part of that period, we cannot say. In this connection it is of interest to quote a report on some as yet unpublished tablets found at Ur during the Excavations of 1924-25 : [8]

" We found a very large collection of unbaked clay tablets dating from the last days of the Third Dynasty of Ur . . . the most interesting records deal with the industrial side of the establishment. . . . The main industry illustrated by the tablets found this season was weaving. In the building E-karzida alone 165 women and girls were kept at work, and we have the accounts made out for the month, quarter and year of the quantity

[1] STD., 196.
[2] Reisner, TU. 162, col. x. 21.
[3] Inv. TDT., vol. iv. 7378.
[4] *Or.* 47-49, no. 361.
[5] Hussey, *l.c.* no. 3, iv. 5, 6.
[6] Reisner, TU. 164^{19}, (amount per head calculated from total).
[7] Hussey, *l.c.* no. 3, iii. 21 f. (The separate totals when added together give 6466 !).
[8] *Antiq. Journal*, Oct. 1925, p. 395.

of woollen thread supplied to each and of the amount of cloth produced, each sort distinguished by quality and weight with due allowance for the wastage of thread in weaving. The rations are in proportion to the output, the older women receiving less than the young ones—no more in fact than did the younger children ; thus if four pints of oil a day was the standard allowance for adults, children of different ages got two pints, one and a half or one, and the really old woman one also." The tablets of which Mr. Wooley speaks appear to illustrate the woollen industry more fully than do any others of this time.

The weavers were organized under a steward (*pa*), who was himself under a higher official, the *nubanda*, or overseer. Some indications, confessedly vague, seem to suggest that the steward attended to the work and the overseer to the payment of the weavers.

At Lagash the weavers had an establishment of their own : the *é-ushbar*, i.e. the weaver-house. It may be that no special importance is to be attached to the fact that an establishment of that name is not found on any tablets of this period from Nippur, Umma or Drehem. On the other hand it may be that the quantity of woollen workers and woollen goods turned out at Lagash was so great as to necessitate special accommodation for the industry. Certainly the quantity at Lagash is far in excess of that recorded from Umma, its near neighbour and, in point of information *re* wool, its rival.

In the *é-ushbar* there were employed not only the weavers but also the clothes makers (*lu-tug*) [1] and the *ne-sig-ga*.[2]

Here, too, clothes were fulled (*tag*, semitic maḥaṣu, to strike) [3] and bleached in the *ki-mu-ra* or laundry.[4]

It would appear that the King Gimil Sin had his own *é-ushbar*.[5] Also that there was one which was known as the *é-ushbar* of Lama-Gimil Sin in Girsu. The steward of this was Lu-Limmasu, who was also the steward of the weaver-house of Gimil Sin.[6] Was the King's name Gimil Sin an abbreviation

[1] Inv. TDT., vol. iii. 5184. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. iii. 5095.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. 974 ? ; 3413.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. iv. 7300 ; cp. RA. 1919, p. 113.
[5] Inv. TDT., vol. ii. nos. 844, 3413 ; vol. iii. 5095.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. 909, col. iv. and cp. vol. ii. 3413.

of Lama Gimil ^{d}Sin ? No other persons are associated so closely with the *é-ushbar*. And both these names are coupled with slave girl weavers : *gim ushbar ^{d}Gimil ^{d}Sin* [1] and *gim ushbar ^{d}Lama ^{d}Gimil ^{d}Sin.*[2] So also, though but once, is the patesi (of Girsu ?) on a tablet [3] which records an allowance of fish for the slave-girl weavers of the patesi.

We may infer from the data of Lagash tablets that every town and village had its weavers. There is express mention on the Lagash tablets [4] of the weavers of Lagash, Kisurra, Uru, Nina and Tigabba. We meet them too on Umma and Adab tablets, and, according to Mr. Wooley's report, they were at Ur in large numbers.

It would be interesting to know in detail the processes of fulling, bleaching, weaving and tailoring. But the tablets of the Third Dynasty of Ur do not provide them.

Attached to the weaver-house at Lagash or district was an archivist.[5] It is to him and his like that we owe whatever knowledge we possess of wool and its uses in their day.

[1] Inv. TDT., vol. ii. nos. 702, 848, 3143.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. 798, 909, col. iv.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. 4203, R.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., nos. 790, 794 ; no. 752 ; no. 790 ; no. 794 ; no. 913, etc.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. 728.

PREHISTORIC ELEMENTS IN OUR HERITAGE.[1]

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NOT many years ago it was customary to think of a Neolithic Age separated by some deep revolution from the Palæolithic, but itself also very long and very distinct. It was supposed to be succeeded by a revolution in modes of life, accompanying the spread of the use, and afterwards of the manufacture, of bronze. The suggestion, in the old view, that the European Palæolithic Age did not grade in any simple direct way into the Neolithic was a correct one so far as modern evidence allows us to argue; but the origins of Neolithic culture, the duration of that culture phase and the transition thence to the Bronze Age have been the objects of much thought and discussion. In this discussion, the old idea of diffusions of culture by contacts and exchanges has come to play an important part, though there is much divergence of opinion as to the particular theory of diffusion of culture by a super-race from Egypt advocated by Elliot Smith, Perry and some others.

The work which has most helped to change views concerning Neolithic Europe has been that of excavation of remains of early civilizations in Mesopotamia, Egypt and Crete, which helped to enrich the interpretation of earlier excavatory work at Hissarlik (Troy) and elsewhere. In particular, it was found that the knowledge of copper in Mesopotamia was almost as old as the knowledge of stone-grinding, and both were apparently far older there than in Europe. The centres of culture near the Eastern Mediterranean, including Mesopotamia, Egypt, Crete and probably, had we but enough information, Anatolia,

[1] An amplification of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 10th of January, 1934.

are thought to have spread ideas gradually into and around a Europe which had apparently long lagged behind the riverine lands of the Ancient East. These, with their regular floods refreshing the soil with silt, encouraged early agriculture and all the attendant changes in equipment and in thought. The use of stones as digging picks may well have been one of the means whereby the art of shaping stones by rubbing arose. With more sedentary life and better tools came improvements in carpentry, in pottery-making, in spinning and weaving, and in equipment generally. But, more than that, there were developments of thought. The clearer idea of the physical side of paternity made sex-consciousness far more acute, the search for stones to rub led men far afield, and developed initiative in methods of treatment leading on to the beginnings of metallurgy. Journeys in search of stone and, soon, of metal, developed exchange and markets. Annual flooding led to development of astronomical observation and hydrographic as well as land measurement, and the growth of a learned, priestly tradition, which provided a court of appeal in disputes. The combination of temple and market promoted the growth of the idea of the city, which is thus a highly complex product, to be transplanted only with difficulty under the conditions of early times. The time taken in the spread of civilization from the riverine lands of antiquity is a remarkable feature of the story of antiquity. Cities in Mesopotamia may well date from 4000 B.C. They appear to arise in the eastern Mediterranean area about, if not after, 3000 B.C. In the western Mediterranean they begin after 1000 B.C.; in Central Europe there is little civic development before 900 A.D.

In the spread of civilization to the Mediterranean there was interplay between the dispersal of ideas from Mesopotamia, and very probably from Anatolia, and those distributed by the mariners who traded with Egypt. It was a culture with maritime intercourse at its core. In Cyprus, Crete and the Ægean it found a region where one might sail from point to point in sight of land under conditions of a high degree of predictability in the summer season, as well as with possibility of steering with help of sun, wind and stars. Obsidian in Melos and copper

in Cyprus are two of the special products on which trade was built up, while fish, pearls and coral were valuable features of the area. Sites on islands and peninsulas overlooking harbours gave defensible positions for cities, if water supply was available and there was ground for cultivation near by. Phylakopi on Melos, Knossos in Crete, Hissarlik (later Troy) on the south side of the Dardanelles, and Orchomenos west of Lake Copais in Greece are among the best known examples of cities arising in the Ægean region during the third millennium B.C.

Not only did the spread of civilization to the Ægean call into being extended schemes of intercourse, it also brought enlarged opportunities of cultivation, for the olive, fig and vine could be grown, and honey from the bees feeding on the Mediterranean heaths was another asset, while wheat and barley could be cultivated as in the earlier homes of agriculture. The Ægean region thus became a new centre whence there spread enterprise, especially by sea; and, after a long delay, the idea of the city, with its many accompaniments, was transplanted along the sea route to the western Mediterranean, which it reached in the last millennium B.C. Thus for fifteen hundred years or so there were cities in the Ægean and traders and adventurers wandering westwards into regions as yet untamed by civilization. The wanderers brought elements of culture from point to point, and the ideas they introduced germinated among, and sometimes no doubt cross-fertilized, the traditions of the indigenous peoples of the west. There thus arose many local cultures linked along the coasts in many ways, not without analogies with the linked cultures found by recent explorers in the island chains of Melanesia and influenced in very various ways by wanderers from Indonesia. In the latter case, however, many of the wanderers themselves lacked a city tradition, which was an early feature in the Ægean. One has strong suspicions of organized and monopolistic groups in the intercourse of the preclassical Mediterranean, with routes kept secret from possible rivals. This tendency would retard the general distribution of ideas and the copying in the west of the more elaborate buildings and handicraft products of the Ægean; and the traces of eastern Mediterranean culture in the west would therefore

include chance importations, some adapted by westerners, and copies of some of the ideas of the traders' home region concerning simpler constructions, especially those associated with burial and religion. This is one view of the origin of what are called the Megalithic cultures in the west. It is a view which brings together some apparently conflicting ideas. Elements of the early cultures in the west may show resemblances to those of Mesopotamia and Egypt here and there, may have some Ægean elements and may lack others. The idea is that the eastern Mediterranean had become a fountain-pool receiving culture features from all around and allowing traces of those cultures to leak out to the west.

Stjerna [1] and, later, Elliot Smith [2] derived from the Egyptian Mastaba the most typical megalithic construction of Atlantic and western Mediterranean Europe, namely, the dolmen, a structure with several standing stones supporting a great covering stone or two, and thus enclosing a covered chamber sometimes approached by a similarly covered passage. This idea has to face the difficulty that the Mastaba seems primarily a tomb for a great man, and perhaps his wife and son, a copy of a palace in several points, whereas the dolmen and several other varieties of megaliths seem rather to be collective burial places or repositories for remains, and thus analogous with ossuaries. Kendrick [3] further discusses the Mastaba theory. Peake [4] has suggested Ægean origins for the dolmen, while that author and the present writer [5] and, independently, Forde [6] have developed this idea, emphasizing the importance of the corbelled tomb to be discussed below. The same idea has been developed in Brittany by Le Rouzic, and was expressed by him in his last paper.[7]

[1] Stjerna, K., *Ant. Tidsk.*, 1911, p. 129.

[2] Elliot Smith, G., *Man*, 1913, No. 105, also *Essays* presented to W. Ridgeway, 1913. [3] Kendrick, T. D., *The Axe Age*, 1925, pp. 80 ff.

[4] Peake, H. J. E. *Man*, 1916, No. 68.

[5] Fleure, H. J., and Peake, H. J. E., "Megaliths and Beakers," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. lx, 1930, pp. 47-71.

[6] Forde, C. D., "The Megalithic Culture-Sequence in Iberia," *L'pool Annals Archæol. Anthropol.*, vol. xvi, 1929, and "Early Cultures of Atlantic Europe," *Amer. Anthropologist*, vol. xxxii, 1930.

[7] Le Rouzic, Z., "Morphologie et Chronologie des sépultures préhistoriques du Morbihan," *L'Anthropologie*, T. xliii, 1933.

The megaliths of the west are largely tombs or ossuaries and one may therefore begin by enquiring into any tomb-forms around the eastern Mediterranean, especially in centres of maritime intercourse that may be linked up with those of the west. At Mochlos [1] in Crete there are rectangular ossuaries walled by stone-slabs set up against a cliff, and Evans [2] thinks they had plaster-roofs which have fallen in. Mochlos also has smaller rectangular tombs walled with slabs, as well as burials in holes in the live rock, all of early date. There are rock-cut tombs also at Knossos in Crete. At Pelos,[3] Antiparos [4] and Paros [4] in the Cyclades the tombs are shallow holes in the ground, lined and covered with flat slabs. In N.E. Syros [4] there are dry-walled tombs sometimes with slab-roofs and sometimes more or less corbelled, usually provided with a porch. These Cycladic tombs are usually for one body; the tombs at Mochlos are mainly ossuaries. The tombs of the Mesará [5] in Crete are corbelled ossuaries of considerable size, and Evans [6] thinks they are derived from Libyan prototypes.

We may thence argue that building with great slabs of stone and corbelling were ideas current among the Ægean mariners as well as far and wide around the eastern Mediterranean, so, without narrowing the idea of the original home too closely we may expect to find these ideas carried by mariners to the west.

For hints as to routes of these early times to the west, we have but general argument from later voyages, sailing directions and so on, and occasional finds. Bone ornaments with a linear series of bosses are found at Hissarlik, at Malta [7] and at Castellucio [8] in Sicily. High-handled cups, always fairly similar in general form, are known from Hissarlik II, Thessaly and Sicily,

[1] Seager, R. B., "Explorations, I. of Mochlos," *Amer. Sch. Classical Studies*, Athens, 1912.

[2] Evans, Sir A. J., "Early Nilotic, Libyan and Egyptian relations with Minoan Crete," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. lv, 1925.

[3] Edgar, C. C., "Prehistoric Tombs, Pelos," *Brit. Sch. Athens*, vol. iii, 1896-7.

[4] Tsountas, χ., κυκλαδικά 'Αρχαιολογικη 'Εφημερὶς, 1898-9.

[5] Xanthoudides and Droop, J. P., *Vaulted Tombs of the Mesará*, 1924.

[6] *Loc. cit.*

[7] Zammit, Sir T., *Archæologia*, lxx, 1920, Fig. 19, p. 195.

[8] Orsi, P., *Bull. Paletn. Ital.*, 18, 1892.

while a cup with a long upward-pointing spout is a feature of early culture in Cyprus, Hissarlik II, the Cyclades and Sardinia.[1] Cafici,[2] in his summary of Sicilian prehistory, shows that a local culture of the early age of metal developed parallel with that of Hissarlik II, and is a special feature of the south-east of the island.

Peet was of opinion that ancient trade routes westward from Hissarlik II lay both across the Cyclades and across Greece via the isthmus and gulf of Corinth, and also across Thessaly, with south-east Sicily as a goal. Frankfort [3] thinks Thessaly was the end of a branch route, and that the main route was that via the isthmus and gulf of Corinth.

A sea-and-isthmus route from Hissarlik and a maritime route from Crete are probably two among several routes that were taken in voyages to the west. Beyond the eastern Mediterranean to the west and beyond Mesopotamia and the Indus to the east, beyond Armenia to the north and perhaps the south of Egypt to the south, voyagers in the early days of trade did not as yet found cities ; and architectural developments were thus less concerned with complete buildings than with work using great stones for graves and ritual centres. All around the region of early cities one may find megalithic work here and there. It is doubtless of very diverse dates, from the early days of metal to the time when the city idea was spreading. Some megaliths are probably much less ancient than others in the same area, and many have remained sacred in the minds of the people near them down even to modern times. Therefore, while the beginnings of the megalithic idea go back a very long way, there is every reason to emphasise the importance of the continuity, especially in Atlantic Europe, from the megalithic to the early Christian culture represented in Celtic Christianity and its mediæval survivals.

Malta, at the gate between eastern and western Mediterranean,

[1] Peet, T. E., *Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily*, Oxford, 1909.

[2] Cafici, in "Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte," Bd. 12, 1928-9 Sizilien, p. 197.

[3] Frankfort, H., "Studies in the early pottery of the Near East," Pt. II, pp. 126 ff., *Roy. Anthr. Inst. Occnl. Papers*, No. 8, 1927.

has been the subject of much study,[1] especially by Zammit, and its megalithic culture, without metal, is most elaborate and too well known to need even summary description here. A great hypogeal construction called Hal Saflieni, cut out of the rock, shows imitation of corbelling and served in part, though perhaps not at first, as a great ossuary, two points which suggest links with Crete. Evans[2] speaks of direct links between middle Minoan Crete and Malta, emphasizing the use of the spiral motive in relief ornament on stone in both. Hal Saflieni, Malta, has yielded a number of female figurines, some naked, some with a pleated skirt, but mostly very fat; the Cyclades have also yielded a number of naked female figurines, with poorer examples, some very schematized, from Hissarlik and Cyprus, and some of the Cycladic figures show tendencies to fatness of the haunches. These figurines are also known from Thessaly, Greece, Crete and Naqada (Egypt)[3] but those of Malta have a style of their own and in this, as in the megalithic constructions, it is only a general stimulus that probably came from the east. The local development was original and one could easily go wrong in over emphasizing connections with special cultures of Cycladic islands and other sites of the eastern Mediterranean.

From contemporary and later periods we have examples of places of special sanctity at the gates through which culture entered various regions. Reference will be made below to Santiago da Compostella, an "entry" into north-west Spain, and to St. Davids, an entry into Wales, while a further analogue

[1] Mayr, A., *Die Insel Malta in Altertum*, 1909.

Zammit, Sir T., "The Hal Saflieni Hypogeum," First Report, Malta, 1910. "Hal Tarxien," *Archæologia*, Vols. 67, 68, and 70, 1915-20. "Ta 'Hajrat," *Bull. Mus. Valetta*, vol. no. 1, 1929.

Tagliaferro, N., "Prehistoric Pottery. Hal Saflieni," *Liverpool Annals Arch. Arch.*, vol. 3, 1910.

Peet, T. E., "Prehistoric Painted Pottery, in Malta," *ibid.*, vol. 4, 1912. *Rough Stone Monuments*, 1912.

Bradley, R. N., *Malta and the Mediterranean Raa*, 1912.

Zammit, T., Peet, T. E., and Bradley, R. N., "Small Objects . . . from . . . Hal Saflieni," Second Report, Malta, 1912.

[2] Evans, Sir A. J., *The Palace of Minos*, vol. i, ch. 22, pp. 261 ff.

[3] Dussaud, R., *Les civilisations préhelleniques dans le bassin de la mer Egée*, Paris, 1914, pp. 206 ff.

would be Canterbury and still another may be seen in the Danish Roskilde. If Malta be looked upon as the gate of the west, its unique importance and the great megalithic temples (Hal Tarxien, Mnaidra and Hagiar Kim are not graves) demonstrate the island's special sanctity, while the absence of metal in the early culture may well be a consequence of religious conservatism.

Not only does Malta seem to be linked with lands farther east, it has connections with the west. Sicily and Sardinia[1] both have tombs hewn in the solid rock, often circular or elliptical with a concave roof, as if in imitation of a corbel. The chamber is usually approached by a corridor or a sill and there may be an open fore-court, a feature which we shall see is found in various forms in western monuments as well as in Malta. Malta also has a number of dolmens.

The pottery of the Maltese megalithic culture may be compared with that of El Argar in south-east Spain. Stone axes of fine materials such as jade or nephrite are important in Malta and are associated with the megalithic culture of the west. Though there are these obvious links one does not meet a copy of the Maltese culture anywhere; the megalith builders were not only able civil engineers with command of much labour, they had considerable power of varying their schemes from place to place, however clear the similarity of the ground-work of the culture over wide areas may be. Moreover, we should probably be very wrong in thinking of the system of maritime intercourse of that period as the work of only one group; there may have been several, some in rivalry with others. Further, we shall find hints that there were probably successive series of maritime folk along the route, groups for example belonging to the Iberian peninsula, groups using southern, and others eastern, France, groups belonging to the ends and the shores of the Bay of Biscay, groups belonging to the English Channel and the Irish Sea, groups related especially to the Minch and the Pentland Firth, groups using the North Sea, and finally groups journeying along Baltic shores. Of course, it would be absurd to imply that

[1] See references in Peet, T. E., *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily*, ch. 9, Oxford, 1909.

these groups were very separate from one another. There were in all probability through connections from one to another at times, and, in a number of cases, we may be dealing with local populations awakened to activity by an external stimulus.

Reference has been made above to the parallels that Cafici sees between early civilizations of Hissarlik and Sicily and to the long-spouted cups which suggest a link between the east Mediterranean and Sardinia, and Wilke [1] devotes much attention to parallels in ceramics and other items of grave furniture between east and west in the Mediterranean. In the west he considers chiefly the Iberian peninsula, but also, to some extent, Brittany and even the west Baltic ; he finds parallels especially at Hissarlik and in Egypt, and he often finds analogues in Sicily. He thinks the culture of the end of the Neolithic and the early Metal Age in the Iberian peninsula was propagated eastwards by colonies and daughter colonies and that it came into contact with east Mediterranean cultures, and argues in this sense because he thinks the " early stages " of evolution of megalithic tombs and so on are all in the west, but probably oriental contacts gave Spain the idea of the corbelled roof. Obermaier,[2] also, takes the view that one can make a chronological series, from simpler to more complex, in the Iberian peninsula, but thinks the corbelled roof an oriental contribution. Åberg,[3] Bosch-Gimpera,[4] and Lantier [5] also take this view, so it is very strongly supported. It has already been said that Le Rouzic, Forde, and Peake and the present writer have sought to interpret matters in the opposite way, thus reviving in a modified form the older view of Sophus Müller [6] and Oskar Montelius.[7] The matter was

[1] Wilke, G., " Sudwesteuropäische Megalithkultur," *Mannus-Bibliothek*, No. 7, 1912, especially pp. 66-150.

[2] Obermaier, H., " Die Dolmen Spaniens," *Mitt. anthr. Gesell. Wien.* 3 Folge, Bd. xxi, 1920.

[3] Bosch-Gimpera, P., *Ensayo . . . reconstruccion . . . etnol. prehist. pen. iber.*, Santander, 1923, and art. " Pyrenaeen Halbinsel," *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, Bd. 10, 1928.

[4] Åberg, Nils, *La Civilization énéolithique dans la peninsule ibérique.* Uppsala, 1921.

[5] Lantier, R., " La Néolithique en Espagne," *Journal des Savants*, N.S., Tome 23, Nos. 7 and 8, 1925, pp. 164 ff.

[6] Müller, S., *Urgeschichte Europas*, 1905, p. 76.

[7] Montelius, O., *Fornvännen*, 1909, p. 161.

argued out in some detail in an article by the present writer and H. Peake in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for 1930, and Forde has also stated the case very well, so only a short statement will be given here, as the purpose of the present paper is less to discuss origins of the megalithic culture than to show what provinces of western European life it helped to create, and what has persisted from those origins into later times.

It is clearly possible, as the weighty papers above quoted amply show, to describe a series working up from the simplest dolmen to the most elaborate corbelled chamber with megalithic entrance-passage, but the simple dolmen, a few vertical stones collectively supporting one or two large roofing stones, usually with a poor end-Neolithic furnishing, but with occasional richer objects, typically occurs in the poor highland country of North Portugal towards the Spanish border. It is difficult to picture a culture starting there in poverty and rising to great elaboration when it reaches the coast at various places specially suitable for development of maritime communications. One of Bosch-Gimpera's arguments is that Portugal was its original home and that it spread east; this is partly based on the absence of dolmens from long stretches of the east coast of Spain which would tend to be the first place to be touched by a culture coming from the east. He adds that, apart from the Portuguese region, only the later stages of development of the megaliths are to be found in the peninsula and that the idea spread from South Portugal to Andalusia, etc., and from Portugal also across the Highlands to the Pyrenees (but see below). The corbelled tomb is thought by Bosch-Gimpera to be a simple solution of the problem of roofing a chamber with small material. The final result of the evolution of megalithic architecture in the Iberian pensinula would thus, according to that author, show a convergence with the vaulted tombs of the Mesará in Crete without our needing to think of any connection. Yet Wilke has suggested so many minor resemblances between Iberian and Eastern Mediterranean cultures that one cannot escape from the view that there was a connection. Even Wilke, who makes so much of the initiative of the west, is of the opinion that the corbelled tomb came to it from the east.

If there was a connection, as seems to have been the case, it would be at ports of entry that one would expect objects demonstrating it to be found. If also at and near ports of entry there are rock-cut tombs and corbelled vaults, it is surely possible that the idea of these may have come from Crete or elsewhere in the east, where the idea was highly developed at an obviously early date. The art of making a corbelled roof of a chamber of any size is a difficult one, and if we look northward in Atlantic Europe we find that examples of it become very rare, though there are famous instances like l'Ile Longue in Le Morbihan, New Grange in Ireland, and Maes How in Orkney. Apart from these famous cases one does find slight indications of use of overlapping stones here and there in megalithic construction in Denmark, but no real corbelling on a large scale ; block-roofing is the rule. It is surely just as likely that block-roofing was a substitute for corbelling among people who found the latter art difficult, as that corbelling represents an evolution, in the west, from block-roofing.

We (Le Rouzic, Forde, Peake and the present writer) look upon the corbelled tomb as an introduced feature in the Iberian peninsula, and the resemblances of finds there with objects at Hissarlik, in Cyprus and Crete and Egypt may be held to support this view. The substitution of block-roofing for corbelling would give the gallery-dolmen in place of the corbelled chamber with entrance passage, and the reduction of the passage leaves the simple dolmen as a last term of the series, a simplification appropriate to the poor and remote regions in which many of the simple dolmens of the Iberian peninsula occur. This is one possibility. Another is based upon the occurrence of the dolmen in Malta. This suggests as a possibility that the idea of the dolmen as a sort of stone-container came west more or less with the notion of the corbelled chamber and had larger opportunities for its expression in a region in which corbelling was found difficult. The occurrence of rock-cut tombs in the Cyclades, Crete, Egypt, Sicily, Sardinia, the Balearics, S. France, Portugal, etc., suggests another feature coming west, with the dolmenic chamber as an above-ground alternative for the rock-cut tomb.

It has been objected by Bosch-Gimpera and others that, on a hypothesis of Oriental origins, the dolmens of North Africa and South Italy should be earlier than those of Portugal, whereas there is general agreement that they are later. This general agreement does not make any difficulty for the argument of the present paper, because the intention is not to suggest a one-way stream active in a particular century, but rather the establishment of intercourse with long-continuing schemes of communication back and fore in stages. That the megalithic culture of North Africa and that of South Italy may both be late seems eminently reasonable, just as it seems reasonable to derive the culture found at Villafrati in Sicily from sources in the Iberian peninsula even though, as is the case with the present writer, one does not accept the Iberian origins of the Beaker culture. This is quoted here merely as a matter of analogy without repeating detail given by Peet [1] who says expressly that the pottery of Villafrati links this site with megalithic cultures of the west and not with the Ægean.

The Balearics have monuments that are mainly rock-cut, with roofs sometimes corbelled, while sometimes the monument may be almost completely built of great stones. These monuments clearly lead on to the Grotte des Fées near Arles, in S. France, another corridor rock-cut tomb. This is another line of spread of Mediterranean cultural influences, and one of special importance for the argument concerning dolmens, because in Provence we have rock-cut tombs, at Collorgues in Gard a corbelled chamber, and at La Halliade, north of the Pyrenees, an elaborate megalith with rich furnishings, and in both cases the finds are related to those of the greater megaliths around the coasts of the Iberian peninsula. They may best be interpreted as evidence of the use of the isthmus across S. France at some time while the general dispersal of the typical furnishing of megaliths was going on. On either flank of the isthmus, i.e. in the Cevennes and in the Pyrenees, especially those belonging to the Spanish provinces of Navarre and Gerona, there are very numerous dolmens. Concerning those of the Cevennes, Childe [2]

[1] Peet, T. E., *Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily*, 1909.
[2] Childe, V. G., *Dawn of European Civilization*, 1925, pp. 278–81.

has argued very well that they represent a decadent survival rather than anything primitive, and the finds in them include Bronze Age objects related to types from Central Europe. Concerning those of Gerona and Navarre, Leeds [1] has argued just as cogently, that they represent an extension of the megalithic culture from the north through the passes towards both ends of the range. The isthmus of S. France from Provence via Gard and the gap of Carcassonne to the west coast was thus known and used, and the special importance of megalithic and early Bronze Age cultures in the department of Gironde at the western end of the isthmus is an additional point here. The importance of the Gironde in the early Bronze Age is of special significance and may suggest that this isthmus route retained importance even after the more maritime route had begun to decline, or that by it were exchanged the products of south central Europe and the west coasts.[2]

We have thus, so far, reached an idea of culture provinces, one including the south-east, south and west coasts of the Iberian peninsula, with Sardinian, Sicilian and Maltese relations, which may represent movements west to east as well as east to west. Another, equally related to Malta, Sicily and Sardinia, extends through the Balearic Isles to Provence and across southern France, as well as up into France to the covered galleries of the Seine basin with their Bronze Age furnishings.[3]

A study of objects found associated with the south-western European megaliths has already been made in considerable detail by Åberg.[4] Here it is necessary only to refer to a few selected points which bring out features of this or that culture province, whether illustrating local development or giving testimony to influences from outside.

The Iberian peninsula has yielded many examples of fine chipped flint weapons, analogous at least to those of pre-Dynastic

[1] Leeds, E. T., *Archæologia*, vol. 70, 1920.

[2] See Peake, H. J. E., and Fleure H. J., *Corridors of Time*, vol. 6, *The Way of the Sea*, 1930, and vol. 7, *Merchant Venturers in Bronze*, 1931.

[3] Childe, V. G., *Dawn of European Civilization*, 1925, pp. 278-81.

[4] Åberg, N., *La Civilization enéolithique dans la peninsule ibérique*, Uppsala, 1921.

Egypt, and to those which are known [1] from E. England, Wessex and the Peak and are such a feature of the west Baltic megalithic culture, but in Spain and Portugal they may well be derivatives from the arrowhead when they do not show the typical form of the latter. The arrowhead is usually hollow-based between the barbs, and in this point is like the very great majority (about 90-95 per cent.) of the flint arrowheads of prehistoric Denmark, and like about 15-20 per cent. of the flint arrowheads of prehistoric Ireland. On the other hand, the vast majority of flint arrowheads in France and England are tanged between the barbs, and some arrowheads of this type, which is widespread in Central Europe, occur at Almeria in south-east Spain. Arrowheads are not very abundant, save in a Bronze Age grave (see later) in Le Morbihan. On the whole there is the suggestion, which other facts support as will be seen below, of a culture-province of this time reaching out west in Europe through France and Britain and affecting Ireland, which nevertheless has relations of great importance with the Iberian peninsula on the one hand and the west Baltic on the other. For the moment the essential point, however, is that the Iberian peninsula is markedly characterized by the flint arrowheads with base hollowed out between the barbs, and this form of arrowhead suggests association with North Africa and pre-Dynastic Egyptian cultures.

In an earlier paper [2] reference has been made to the resemblances in pottery between the eastern Mediterranean, including pre-Dynastic Egypt, and the Iberian peninsula and south France with cases of at least analogy elsewhere as well, and that reference was followed up by a list of other points in which various parts of the Iberian peninsula showed analogies with Malta, the Cyclades, Hissarlik, Cyprus and even S. Russia. Forde [3] also draws attention to a number of these matters. The connection with Hissarlik was already noticed in discussing

[1] Grimes, W. F., "The Bronze Age Flint Dagger in England and Wales," *Proc. Prehist. Soc. E. Anglia*, vol. 6, 1932.

[2] Fleure, H. J. and Peake, H. J., "Megaliths and Beakers," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. 60, 1930, pp. 52 ff.

[3] Forde, C. D., "Early Cultures of Atlantic Europe," *American Anthropologist*, N.S., vol. 32, 1930, pp. 54 ff.

Sicily and Malta, and it is thus quite probable that in the Iberian peninsula we have something more than analogies to deal with. It is very significant there that the south-east of Spain (Almeria) shows a culture in which the use of copper appears quite early.[1] In this region instead of great megaliths are found stone-cists, often without a tumulus. Here also the arrowhead with base hollowed out between the barbs is not found, but one sees instead of this the tanged form, sometimes with the tang very broad. This type occurs also occasionally in Portugal. Flint blades of good quality also occur. Flat copper axes are another feature. The south-east of Spain also yields evidence of a well-developed early Bronze Age culture named from El Argar. This is distinct from the earlier culture in that flint arrowheads are almost absent. Flat copper axes are numerous, and a dozen halberds in copper, with silver rivets, occur. There are some hundreds of daggers, many of them in bronze. Bosch-Gimpera and Åberg in the works just cited agree that there is a continuity from the earlier culture to that of El Argar, that all stages were interested in local sources of copper, and that a considerable change occurred at the transition, Los Millares and other early stations being abandoned in favour of new sites such as El Argar. It is possible[2] that when, about 1900 B.C., Hissarlik II was destroyed, trade routes and industrial centres went through a considerable revolution and S.E. Spain may have acquired new importance for a time, as did Bohemia in Central Europe. S.E. Spain was, however, limited through lack of tin and its prosperity apparently passed away in a few centuries ; Forde in the paper cited above suggests a date about 1600 B.C. The finds of the Copper and Bronze Ages in S.E. Spain[3] indicate that the region had some relations with Central Europe. This copper-bronze phase, and indeed the whole sequence in S.E. Spain, is a little apart from the story of the megaliths which it is the purpose

[1] Åberg, N., *La civilization énéolithique*, etc. (*op. cit.*), especially pp. 125-9 and 158 ff. Bosch-Gimpera, P., *Ensayo . . . reconstruccion . . . etnol. prehist. pen. iber.*, 1922.

[2] Peake, H. J. and Fleure, H. J., *Corridors of Time*, vol. 7, *Merchant Venturers in Bronze*, 1931.

[3] On the matter of halberds see Coffey, G., *Bronze Age in Ireland*, 1913, pp. 17-23.

of this essay to develop in certain directions, but the early stages of culture in S.E. Spain yield evidences of connections with Portugal and the megalithic centres generally. One of these evidences is furnished by the greenish mineral called callaïs. Miss Chitty has kindly given information to various persons interested that she knows of large numbers, well over a thousand, of beads in Portuguese museums and they also occur in Almeria. It is worth noticing that the great megalithic graves of Andalusia (corbelled tombs and gallery dolmens) have been found relatively poor in furnishings, save pottery, and are without callaïs. The contrasts within the Iberian peninsula between Portugal, Andalusia and Almeria as regards the cultures of the period of the megaliths are thus well marked not only in megalithic styles but in associated finds, and Almeria and W. Portugal appear to have some kinship. There were obviously several groups of people moving and probably trading. The distribution of callaïs elsewhere is a very interesting matter. Arne [1] has described 27 beads, said to be of this material, from Kadi Keui on the Bosporus, but thinks, as did Déchelette,[2] that the material is of western origin, though no source has as yet been traced. This suggests links between east and west, amplifying the evidence mentioned near the beginning of this article. The Grotte des Fées near Arles has yielded 113 callaïs beads, and three or four are known from Cevenole monuments as well as a number from Catalonia, while Pouy de la Halliade has yielded a few, seven have been listed from Charente Inférieure and one each from Loire Inférieure and the Marne. Callaïs, therefore, was taken, whether westward or eastward, across southern France and was sufficiently characteristic to spread even into the Cevenole and Catalan monuments on either side of this route. In Le Morbihan, Brittany, which is related, in its monuments, especially with Portugal, over 700 beads of callaïs, many of them very small, have been found.

On grounds of the types of megalithic monuments, of the occurrence of callaïs beads, of the importance of fine polished

[1] Arne, T. J., *Fornvännen*, vol. xvii, 1922, pp. 124 ff.
[2] Déchelette, J., *Manuel d'Archéologie*, T. 1, 1908, pp. 620-3.

stone axes,[1] and of pottery to be discussed below, Le Morbihan may be called an extension of the Iberian, and especially the west Iberian, culture area, and there can be no doubt that the two regions had important communications by sea. The rarity of hollow-based arrowheads in Brittany is, however, to be remembered; tanged arrowheads, not too common in Le Morbihan, save in a Bronze Age grave,[2] occur occasionally in Portugal. Fragments of gold have been found associated with callaïs at many sites, and it is to be noted that gold said to be of Occidental origin has been found at Hissarlik II, and at Gaza (this last according to preliminary information from Sir Flinders and Lady Petrie). Save in Brittany, callaïs often occurs with blades or flat axes of copper or bronze, and, in the south Iberian regions, it is associated with corbelled tombs. The corbelled tombs of l'Ile Longue and Kérusan in Brittany have not yielded callaïs (nor have those of Andalusia). In Brittany the beads occur especially in the great gallery dolmens and the large tumuli enclosing dolmenic chambers without a gallery for access. The associated finds are choice axes of polished stone and some gold but neither fine arrowheads nor metal objects usually occur. Le Rouzic [3] thinks that the tombs containing callaïs and choice polished axes are contemporary with others that contain copper and bronze daggers and halberds and fine stemmed flint arrowheads. This conclusion, if supported, would indicate the existence of peoples of diverse traditions living side by side, a view that is highly probable.

Though callaïs is obviously so important in Le Morbihan, no fragment of it has ever been found in the adjacent departments of Finistère and Côtes-du-Nord, in the Channel Islands, or in the British Isles or the west Baltic. Callaïs is thus an "index" object of a culture of megalithic times in the Iberian peninsula, south France and Le Morbihan. Amber, on the

[1] Forde, C. D., "On the use of Greenstone (Jadeite, Callais, etc.) in the Megalithic Culture of Brittany," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. 60, 1930, pp. 211 ff.

[2] Marsille, L., "Tumulos de Coet-er-Garf," *Bull. Soc. polymathique du Morbihan*, 1913.

[3] Le Rouzic, Z., "Morph. et Chron. . . . sépultures préhist du Morbihan," *L'Anthropologie*, T. xliii, 1913.

other hand, very important in the west Baltic where it is found, occurs in the British Isles and in Finistère, but, in spite of some misstatements to the contrary, it has never been found in the megaliths of Le Morbihan or of West Portugal. Some amber beads do occur in megaliths of Cevenole, France, and Gerona and in Almeria and two monuments of south Portugal, so there is some overlap between the province of callaïs and that of amber, but an overlap in a region that is also otherwise marked by evidence of relations with Central Europe.

Another important feature of the Iberian culture province is its pottery with low round-based bowls, and waisted carinated vessels of various heights with the keel variously indicated, sometimes sharp and sometimes gently rounded. Forde [1] thinks that the higher forms, with the keel rounded are the originals of the famous bell-beakers which play such a part in the archæology of the earliest Metal Age in Western and Central Europe. An alternative hypothesis [2] attributing the bell-beaker to an east-central European origin has been advanced. Both these views are in opposition to the view of Siret and others that the bell-beaker originated from basketry prototypes and to Bosch-Gimpera's suggestion that the beaker evolved in south-central Spain and was only grafted on to the megalithic culture of Portugal, etc. It is beyond the purpose of the present paper to reopen the argument about beakers; the essential points here are that waisted bowls, variously carinated, are very characteristic of the megalithic cultures of the Iberian peninsula, Brittany and the west Baltic. Wherever it originated, the bell-beaker certainly accompanies the more elaborate tomb-types in the Iberian peninsula, and was taken thence to Sicily and to Brittany, while it is also characteristic at Pouy de la Halliade in the south of France. It is interesting that, while two of the beakers at la Halliade are decorated *à l'ibérienne* in horizontal zones, one shows string-course decoration, which is a north-central European feature. At least five Breton beakers also have string-course decoration. This is another indication,

[1] Forde, C. D., *op. cit.*, *Amer. Anthr.*, N.S., vol. 32, 1930, p. 52.

[2] Fleure, H. J. and Peake, H. J., *op. cit.*, *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. 60, 1930.

to be added to several already cited, that the Franco-British region at the periods in question was much affected by central Europe as well as by maritime communications. That it showed great skill in making fine polished stone axes, and used tanged and barbed flint arrowheads is as characteristic as the fact that its flint-work was otherwise less developed than that of the Iberian peninsula and Denmark's megalithic cultures, which mostly used hollow-based arrowheads and which made finer pottery than did Brittany or the British Isles at that time. It is interesting, however, that Ireland has yielded some pattern-bottomed bowls most clearly allied to those of West Portugal, one of this class being also found at Ffostill in Wales,[1] and that Ireland has also a fair proportion of hollow-based arrowheads, and a good deal of fine flint-work, while its early Metal Age connections are clearly with the Iberian peninsula. In other words, the overlap of central European elements in provinces of megalithic culture in the British Isles is less marked in Ireland than it is in Britain, though evident enough in both.

If Le Morbihan in Brittany shows its kinship most of all with the Iberian peninsula, the adjoining department of Finistère[2] is more distinct, though it has a corbelled dry-walled chamber at Kerheuret. In some of the plans given by Forde, the entrance passage of the tomb leads into a chamber-portion at right angles to the passage somewhat after the style of Danish monuments. Not only callaïs, but also the fine greenstone axes of Le Morbihan, are absent, but there are here amber and rather fine double axes which are not known from Le Morbihan. Finistère yields beakers and keeled pots much like those of Le Morbihan, and Forde has suggested that this region shows an early stage of the decay of the megalithic culture ; an alternative view would be that elements belonging to lands farther north and north-east were stronger here than in Le Morbihan and that the Iberian ideas did not therefore have such free course.

Guernsey, Channel Islands, in its monuments, bell-beakers

[1] Vulliamy, C. E., "A Bronze Age Cup from Wales," *Man*, No. 149, 1927.

[2] Forde, C. D., "Megalithic monuments, S. Finistère," *Antiq. Journ.*, vol. 7, 1927, p. 6.

and stone axes, seems related to Le Morbihan, Jersey more to northern areas in spite of a splendid gallery-dolmen at La Hougue Bie. Guernsey has yielded two very fine "jadeite" axe-adzes with shaft-hole central, much resembling metal axe-adzes from Hissarlik II and early Minoan Crete. Whereas beakers are occasional as finds in megaliths in the Iberian peninsula and France, this association does not exist in the British Isles. There the beakers are characteristic of the east [1] though some have been found along lines strung out westwards into the megalithic areas. Their rarity in those areas, apart from the Stonehenge district, is a marked feature. There is no doubt that the British beakers represent a spread of culture from Central Europe and that their quality is better than that of the other British pots of the time, though that quality declines in due course. British pottery apart from beakers is nearly all inferior to Iberian of that time.

Among the great stone monuments of the British Isles, New Grange in Ireland and Maes How in Orkney belong to the class of corbelled tombs allied to those of the Iberian peninsula. Cashtal yn Ard (Isle of Man), Carn Ban (Arran), the former monument at Annaclochmuillinn [2] in Ireland, and that surviving at Goward [3] in Co. Down, Ireland, belong to the class of "giants' tombs" so characteristic of Sardinia. There are gallery dolmens, more often with the chamber along the axis of the passage (southern type) than at right angles to that axis (northern type). The long barrows, again, are sometimes held to represent a modification of some Breton types of monument,[4] but Kendrick [5] argues that they are more akin to the tombs of the Paris (Marne) area. He notes that they sometimes have a porthole like that found in the Marne tombs and he draws attention to cases of the porthole or something like it in Hesse, Thuringia, Saxony

[1] Fox, C., *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. lxxx, 1925; and *The Personality of Britain*, 1932.

[2] Macalister, R. A. S., lecture to Internat. Congress Prehist. Archæology, London, 1932.

[3] Davies, O., and Evans, E. E., "Horned Cairn, Goward, Co. Down," *Man*, No. 117, 1933.

[4] Forde, C. D., *op. cit.*, *Amer. Anthr.*, N.S., 32, 1930, p. 92.

[5] Kendrick, T. D., *The Axe Age*, 1925, chs. 2 and 3.

and Poland, almost achieving a link with the port-holed cists of the Crimea and the Caucasus.[1] The fact that the Marne area and the south French megalithic area both have schematized representations of human figures is a striking one, especially as, apart from Guernsey,[2] the western megalithic cultures seem to have been mainly aniconic. There is thus abundant architectural evidence of Iberian and generally southern influences in the British megaliths, and Crawford[3] has shown that "jadeite" axes from Le Morbihan came to S. England. On the other hand, monuments like Kits Coity House in Kent have been compared with Dutch megaliths. The evidence of Woodhenge and Bleasdale and of the tenon-and-mortice fastenings on the trilitha at Stonehenge link these monuments with the Dutch ones, in which wood plays a very important part, and so with Europe north, rather than south, of the Alps. As the stone circle is a marked feature of British megalithic work this emphasises the Continental as contrasted with the Atlantic-coastal influences in Britain. These examples may suffice to illustrate the character of the British province, awakened probably by direct or indirect contacts with the Iberian peninsula and showing clear cases of fairly direct contacts, but nevertheless dependent largely on Europe north of the Alps for distinctive features, which, however, get modified, as by change from wood to stone, to suit the culture of the west. One should not force the view that all British stone-circles have the origin indicated; some may well be based upon the idea of the circle surrounding the mound or tumulus over a dolmen passage-grave. But this idea too is northern on the whole.

The Frisian and west Baltic province of Megalithic Culture is the last of the great divisions and its dating depends on how far one supposes the region to be a "*fons et origo*" of a great "Nordic culture" and how far one considers it an outlying region of cultures of south-east Europe in contact with maritime stimuli

[1] Tallgren, A. M., "Dolmens of N. Caucasia," *Antiquity*, 1933, gives references.

[2] Ayscough, F., *Société Guernesiaise*, vol. xi., pt. 3, 1932, pp. 366-77.

[3] Crawford, O. G. S., "Prehistoric Trade between England and France," *L'Anthropologie*, vol. xxiv., 1913.

working perhaps from Spain and Portugal via Ireland.[1] The splendid flint work of its supposedly later phases, the hollow-based flint arrowheads, the magnificent pottery suggest links with Spain, save that we must recognize widespread skill in flint-work at that period; and in a region far from sources of metal the making of fine flint daggers, some undoubtedly copied from, ultimately, metal models, may well have arisen independently. Hammer-axes, holed for hafting, fine pedestalled dishes, long-necked keeled pots, and beakers derived from the south-east are among many traits that show the magnitude of central and south-eastern European influence upon megalithic culture in the west Baltic. It is permissible to doubt whether here, any more than in the Iberian peninsula or in Britain, we really have a chronological sequence from simpler to more complex, and whether the absence of metal in the monuments is a sign of more than quite relative earliness. The typical monuments are block-roofed, with the long axis of the chamber at right angles to that of the passage, and a few examples of this scheme occur in Ireland and in Finistère, Brittany.

Enough has now been said to suggest that various regions of western Europe, showing some intercommunication, were stimulated to build monuments of great stones at periods not very different in the different cases and opening perhaps about 2500 B.C. in some places though very probably later in others. The fate of this stimulus appears to have differed in different cases. In the Iberian peninsula there appears to have been a marked decline after the early Bronze Age. The same seems to be true of the isthmus across the south of France as well as the Balearics and probably Sardinia. The old tradition, however, lingered on in the Cevennes and the Pyrenees, on each side of the south French isthmus, and one is inclined to suspect an analogous survival in north-west Spain and in the adjacent part of Portugal. The persistence of the megalithic culture of Brittany and Britain is clearly indicated and it is highly probable

[1] C. Fox (*Personality of Britain*, pp. 22-4) has suggested that the Straits of Dover were probably not fully open at this period. This is an interesting speculation.

that the alignments at Carnac and the famous monument at Stonehenge are both of the Bronze Age.

Reference has not been made hitherto in this paper to the discussion between MM. Déchelette and Coffey [1] concerning the incised spiral ornament at New Grange, and related ornaments on Breton megaliths. Coffey was inclined to ascribe it to Scandinavian influences while Déchelette traced it from the south-west of Europe. The difficulty at that time was that the form of New Grange was supposed to be derived from that of the tombs at Mycenae. It is now held that New Grange and the Mycenean tombs are both derived from the corbelled tombs of the Mesará. On the whole, probably, Déchelette's view concerning New Grange spiral ornaments may be the better one.

As regards Brittany, Le Morbihan seems to have declined somewhat with, or following, the decline of the Iberian peninsula, and to have received culture elements in increasing amount from the Paris basin or further east. Continental influences also increasingly affected Great Britain, but Ireland had a special development connected with the exploitation of the gold of Glendalough, and gold ornaments of Irish styles are known from Bronze Age hoards and other finds in Wales, Cornwall and to some extent England, in many parts of France [2] and Portugal as well as in Luxembourg, Hannover and Denmark. The "lunulæ" or gold crescents are the most oft-quoted of these ornaments but not by any means the only ones. If statements about Irish gold at Gaza are correct, it becomes more probable that the gold torc from Hissarlik II, which so resembles the Irish torcs, may have come from the west, though the idea may have gone west from Hissarlik.[3] Gold certainly seems to have been traded in the west in the Early Bronze Age.

The finds of bronze implements suggest very strongly that, in the Bronze Age, Central Europe north of the Alps became far more influential, while the West Baltic, as the Bronze Age advanced, attained a very high level of craftsmanship after the

[1] See Coffey, G., *Bronze Age in Ireland*, 1913, ch. 12.
[2] Déchelette, J., *Manuel d'Archéologie*, T. ii, 1910.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 354-5.

more maritime and more Continental elements of the older cultures had fused and the region had begun to derive wealth from the export of amber. The occurrence of rock-face drawings of Bronze Age ships on Swedish rocks is too well known to need more than mention here.[1] The great importance of the megaliths in Caithness is an indication of British and west Baltic connections at some, probably fairly early, stage of the cultures concerned, and there is also the spread of the bronze palstave from the north European plain to Britain, where it is one of the most characteristic objects of antiquity. In the late Bronze Age, however, though swords are found in numbers in the Hebrides and the north of Scotland, and Irish gold became important in the Scottish Highlands,[2] there is not any reasonable evidence of contacts between North Britain and the west Baltic; the sword types differ notably in the two cases. Irish copper played a reduced part from the later Middle Bronze Age onwards, and at the end of the Bronze Age a worsening of the climate of the west Baltic, with attendant storms, was probably a serious factor.[3]

Maritime intercourse along Atlantic coasts farther south can be traced to some extent, though it was apparently less lively after the rise of land routes of trade across Europe.[4] Lord Abercromby [5] noted four-handled biconical jars in Bronze Age burials in Cornwall and related them to the four-handled jars of the same period in Brittany. Déchelette [6] notes four-handled jars of this period in Brittany, near Mainz on the Rhine, and in Bohemia, in Sardinia and in Sicily. He thinks [7] them the descendants of four-handled jars standing on small feet such as occur at Taillau and Pouy de la Halliade in the south

[1] See Almgren, O., article "Felsenzeichnung," *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, Bd. 3, 1925, pp. 207-23.

[2] See map in Fox, C., *Personality of Britain*, 1932, Fig. 20, p. 39.

[3] Gams, H., and Nordhagen, R., "Postglaziale Klimaänderungen," *Munch. Georgr. Ges.*, Bd. 16, 1923.

[4] de Navarro, J. M., "Prehist. Routes . . . Amber Trade," *Geogr. Journ.*, vol. 66, 1925, p. 481.

[5] Abercromby, Lord, *Bronze Age Pottery, Gt. Britain and Ireland*, 1912.

[6] Déchelette, J., *Manuel d'Archéologie*, T. ii, 1910, pp. 376-7.

[7] *Ibid.*, T. i, 1908, p. 563.

French region. Sicily, Sardinia, South France, Brittany, Cornwall, with the Rhine and Bohemia as well, suggest again such connections as have been mentioned above, with, as is so appropriate where the south French region is concerned, links with Central Europe. There is no need to enter here into discussions as to place of origin. It is sufficient to say that the Iberian peninsula apparently does not come into the picture. Colt Hoare long ago found ribbed cylindrical tubular beads of glazed pottery in the round barrow at Lake, Wilts, and they have been collected from other sites in Wilts, Dorset and Cornwall. They also occur in Wigtownshire, and some British Museum authorities [1] incline to the view that they are local products. Déchelette [2] notes ribbed bony tubes from Cabut in the Gironde (S. France), and Siret [3] found glassy tubes of similar form at Fuente d'Alamo (S.E. Spain). Objects of this material and type are also known from the acropolis at Mycenae, from middle Minoan Crete, from twelfth-century Egypt, Mesopotamia before 2000 B.C. and India. On the whole it seems more likely that we are dealing with an importation from the south into Britain than with something separately evolved in Britain.

Bronze palstaves with two loops have been studied by various writers, including Crawford,[4] who has traced them in Wessex, in south Ireland, in Finistère (Brittany), in south France, north and south Portugal, and south-east Spain, while to this list should be added Sardinia. Note here again the south of France and south-east Spain, but this time a connection with Portugal. As the palstave is a northern implement, it is permissible to think of this specialization as coming south ; it is not very likely to have been invented separately twice or more, as its distribution is along routes of established intercourse.

Estyn Evans,[5] studying a type of sword with almost parallel sides and a tang called a " carp's tongue " and other features,

[1] " Brit. Mus. Bronze Age Guide," 1920, p. 89.

[2] Déchelette, J., *Manuel d'Archéologie*, T. ii, 1910, p. 369.

[3] Siret, H. and L., *Les premiers ages du métal dans le sud-est de l'Espagne*, 1889, p. 205.

[4] Crawford, O. G. S., *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.*, vol. xxiv, 1912, p. 43.

[5] Evans, E. E., " The Sword Bearers," *Antiquity*, 1930, pp. 161-2.

finds it especially in south-east England, north France, and the coastal regions of Brittany, with one in west and one in central France and a few in the Jura and French Switzerland. But there are also seventy-five specimens, he says, at Huelva, south Spain, and it is characteristic of Asturias, Galicia and Portugal (using in part information supplied by Miss Chitty). In the same study Estyn Evans traces the spread of the winged bronze axe across the English Channel from west Switzerland to south-east England as well as to Atlantic France. Thus, in this late phase of the Bronze Age there is a new feature—the importance of connections across the inner part of the English Channel; but at the same time the spread of the type of sword just described down the Atlantic coast to Spain and Portugal is to be set beside what was previously stated in connection with the double-looped palstave. This time, however, south France is out of the picture; the period is that of Mediterranean disturbance and disorder after the fall of Mycenaean culture and before the rise of the classical civilization.

Of the survival of the megalithic idea into the Bronze Age in Le Morbihan one can have no doubt; Le Rouzic [1] ascribes to this period the monument (chambre dolmenique fermée) at S. Germain (Erdeven), the tumulus of S. Michel (Carnac), of Tumiac (Arzon), of Mané-er-Hroech, Er-Grah and Ker-lud (Loemariaquer) and of Le Moustoir (Carnac), while he draws attention to a series of tumuli containing cist graves of the period with flat copper or bronze axes, daggers, halberds, sometimes with wooden handles adorned with gold nails. The monuments of this class include Cruguel (Guidel), Coet-er-Garf (Elven), Keruzan and S. Fiacre (Melrand) and Butte-à-Madame (Ploemeur). Le Rouzic further thinks that it was to defend themselves against the invaders who made these cists that the older inhabitants made the camps or oppida of Le Lizo (Carnac), Mané Kervilor and Mané Roullarde (Trinité), so these also, with their megalithic constructions, would belong to the Bronze Age. There thus seems little doubt that the mega-

[1] Le Rouzic, Z., "Morph. et Chron. Sép. préhist. Morbihan.," *L'Anthropologie*, xliii, 1933.

lithic culture of Le Morbihan continued through the Bronze Age, probably even with construction of further monuments. The Allée couverte coudée du Rocher (Plougoumelen) has yielded two bronze rings placed upon the fourth roofing stone, perhaps an indication of continued reverence of an old monument. In the tumulus of S. Michel at Carnac a closed "dolmenic" chamber was found towards the east end, and it yielded, *inter alia*, a bronze bell, probably of (early) Iron Age date. Such tombs as have been definitely dated to the late Bronze or the Iron Ages in Brittany, however, show relatively little trace of megalithic styles.

In the upper Taf valley, south-west Wales, Fox [1] has described three sepulchral monuments of the Middle and Late Bronze Age associated with a monument presumably sepulchral and of the latest phase of the Neolithic. In one case, the Bronze Age sepulchre showed a ring of quartz stones 4½ feet in diameter, a feature that may represent the final reduction of the circular peristalith around a megalith, common in Cornwall and Ireland. Bronze Age tumuli are sometimes surrounded by a peristalith.

In the Cevennes, as already mentioned, Bronze Age objects occur in the megaliths, and early accounts [2] made reference also to iron beads in a necklace. Miss Collum [3] working on the megalith at Le Tressé, Côtes du Nord, Brittany, has claimed to have found evidence of its construction in Early Iron Age times. Others interpret her evidence, both that from Le Tressé and that from the Déhus monument in Guernsey, as implying that these monuments were used for burials in the Early Iron Age though themselves far older. There is at any rate no dispute as to the utilization of these monuments in the Early Iron Age. The fortified camp at Le Lizo, Carnac, recently investigated by Le Rouzic,[4] shows traces of occupation apparently from the early Bronze Age to Roman times and includes some megalithic constructions.

[1] Fox, C., *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. 80, 1925, p. 275.

[2] Childe, V. G., *Dawn of European Civilization*, 1925, pp. 278-81.

[3] Collum, V. C. C., "Paper on the dolmen at Le Tressé, Brittany," Internat. Congress of Prehist. Archæology, London, 1932.

[4] Le Rouzic, Z., "Premières Fouilles au Camp du Lizo," *Révue Archéologique*, vi ser., t. ii, 1933, pp. 189 ff.

Fergusson [1] long ago gave several cases of Roman coins found in megaliths in Ireland, England, Brittany and the Paris basin. Here and there we thus have evidence of the lingering of the ideas involved in megalithic construction down to at least Roman times. These are not very abundant, but this need not mean that interest no longer gathered around the megaliths. For this pre-literate period we cannot expect evidence of custom, and this is what we have available for post-Roman times concerning the monuments. After Roman times, we find that the megaliths and centres of early culture were often centres of sanctity, more or less modified to fit a Christian framework of ideas. Glendalough, famous for the Irish gold of the early Bronze Age, is the seat of the famous seven churches. The north-western promonotory of Pembrokeshire, with landing places on the north and south sides as well as prehistoric fortifications and megaliths, has become Dewisland with St. David's Cathedral at a focus of ways from landing places marked by the chapels of S. Patrick, S. Non and S. Justinian. The distribution of Ogams [2] mapped by Macalister shows their abundance in south Ireland, with scattered cases in the north and in Scotland and Shetland. They are numerous in Man and in Pembrokeshire, and a fair number occurs elsewhere in Wales. Some are found in Cornwall and south-west Devon. The movements of the Celtic saints between Ireland, west and south-west Scotland, Man, Wales, south-west England and Brittany are along lines of the old movements, and the penetration inland across France both to the Rhine and to the Alpine lands recalls old connections. More than that, one continually finds that early Celtic Christian sanctities are placed on sites consecrated to older faiths. The case of the church at Ysbyty Cynfyn in a megalithic circle, and the analogous cases at S. Germain (Erdeven) in Brittany, Sameiro in Portugal, and Cangas de Onis in N. Spain, are but illustrations of many cases of continuity from pre-Christian into Christian times in Celtic lands. Of special importance is the case of

[1] Fergusson, J., *Rude Stone Monuments*, 1872, p. 339 etc.

[2] Ogam—inscribed stones mapped by R. A. S. Macalister. See Fox. C., *Personality of Britain*, 1932, p. 36.

Santiago da Compostella which the present writer [1] suggested had a background of megalithic cults. This idea has been further developed by Peake [2] and by Howes[3] and has been extended by E. O. James [4] to other shrines of the west of the Iberian peninsula, all apparently in an area where gold and tin were formerly produced. Howes quotes the legend of the landing of the body of S. James at Iria, outside which is a pre-Roman earthwork, and of the carrying of the body to the Pico Sacro and thence to what became Santiago. The historian of this city states that the early tomb was called Arca, or Mamoa, two local names for dolmens. There is also the legend of a stone idol much venerated by natives having been smashed by the disciples bearing S. James. It is interesting to add to this the evidence, to which Hartwell Jones [5] has made reference, of pilgrims moving between Ireland, south-west Wales, Cornwall, Brittany and north-west Spain, i.e. along the ancient line of prehistoric maritime voyages. Here one may interpolate that as yet little is clear concerning the use of the Atlantic coastal routes after the late Bronze Age, during which there is the evidence of double-looped palstaves, and swords already mentioned, and that of encrusted urns [6] spreading between Ireland, Wales and the west of Scotland. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that, in what Hawkes [7] calls phase B of the pre-Roman Iron Age, a culture connected with earth-work and stone fortresses did spread over the west of England, apparently from south to north. There is need to research further into this culture's possible connections with west Normandy, so important for late Bronze Age implements (socketed axes) and perhaps with Brittany (note the fortress camp of Le Lizo) as well as with north-west Spain,

[1] Fleure, H. J., *Human Geography in Western Europe*, 1918, ch. 4.

[2] Peake, H. J., *Folklore*, vol. xxx, 1919, pp. 208-26.

[3] Howes, H. W., *Folklore*, vol. xxxvi, 1925, pp. 132-50.

[4] James, E. O., *Folklore*, vol. xliii, 1932, pp. 273-84.

[5] Hartwell Jones, G., "Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement," *Y. Cymmrodor*, xxiii, 1912.

[6] Fox, C., "An Encrusted Urn of the Bronze Age," *Antiq. Journ.*, vii, 1927, p. 115; see also Fox, C., *Personality of Britain*, 1932, pt. iv.

[7] Hawkes, C., "Hill Forts," *Antiquity*, 1931, p. 60.

which has camps or castros, some including megaliths.[1] It is doubtless significant here that Celtic speech survived Roman times in north-west Spain, so that region formed part of the then Celtic world, and there may well be links relating to Celtic Christian times and the art and early literacy of Ireland awaiting discovery. For north and west Scotland one has evidence of maritime connections in the distribution of Brochs, and the movements of Vikings show analogies both with these and with earlier distributions. Fergusson[2] collected details of decrees of church councils (A.D. 452-789) at Nantes, Tours, Arles, Toledo, Rouen, and Aix la Chapelle aiming at suppression of heathen rites and particular acts of worship at great stones. *Per contra* he gives, and every later student of Brittany has added, several cases in which standing stones, dolmens, etc., have been Christianized in various ways, and there are similar cases in Spain. The analogy with Ysbyty Cynfyn, etc., mentioned above is obvious. A special case is that of the "dolmen" of Confolens in Poitou, where the capstone stands on four, formerly five, round pillars with twelfth-century capitals.

It is evident that, in the days when Christianity was introduced, the megaliths were centres of interest, not as tombs, but as repositories associated with supernatural powers or with the magic of ancient peoples. It is highly probable that this association, being undoubtedly widespread, was an old one, and was in some measure a survival of the old rites associated with the megaliths when, or soon after, they were built. If this be so, we can understand why in later times few were constructed, though one hesitates to speak confidently about construction-dates of several stone-circles in Britain. One also sees how it came about that in later times they were used only sporadically for burial purposes. New tomb-types had come into vogue; it was some magical power that resided in the old sanctuaries. The Celtic Church evidently compromised extensively with the older cults, and even the Roman discipline, for all its dignity,

[1] The castro at Sabroso has on its summit a megalith; its pottery reveals Bronze Age occupation and there has also been found a La Tène implement. (E. O. James, *op. cit.*, p. 279).

[2] Fergusson, J., *Rude Stone Monuments*, 1872, pp. 24-5.

compromised here and there, though its condemnations were sweeping and reiterated. Dr. Murray [1] has suggested with much reason that, in what came to be known as Witchcraft in the Middle Ages, there were many survivals of these old cults, and Guernsey folk-lore retains traces of old ceremonies carried on by witches at the megalith called Le Catioroc. The folk-lore [2] and folk tradition of the Channel Islands and Brittany abounds in stories connected with megaliths and their magic powers. Local festivals or Pardons are a feature of Breton life and they often include processional items that in some cases involve some ceremony at a megalith. One may even occasionally glimpse remnants of old hostility between the Church and the megaliths, in spite of the devoutness of such a large proportion of the Breton population. In Guernsey la Chevauchée de S. Michel [3] was long maintained as an annual ceremonial perambulation, including visits to historic sites such as megaliths. There can thus be little doubt that some continuity of tradition links us, or at least our great-grandparents, with the megaliths, which have passed through various phases, changing from their early rôle as ossuaries and the like, but retaining that of being repositories of supernatural power. That such feelings were very potent in early Christian times cannot be doubted and various efforts have been made to show that some Christian saints are really modifications of ancient deities or have gathered around them the attributes and sometimes the shrines of those deities.

This all suggests that the growth of knowledge is progressing towards a better understanding of the legendary histories of Atlantic Europe. The stories of Saint James and others in Galicia and Portugal suggest links with the eastern Mediterranean as do those of Les Saintes Maries de la Mer in Provence and those of S. Joseph at Glastonbury. In some such cases Christian personages may replace older leaders. But in addition to this the Irish *Lebor Gabala*, the *Historia Brittonum* of Nennius,

[1] Murray, Margaret A., *The Witch Cult in Western Europe*, Clarendon Press, 1921.

[2] MacCulloch, Sir E., *Guernsey Folk-Lore* (ed. Miss E. Carey), London, 1903.

[3] Carey, Edith F., *The Chevauchée de S. Michel*, Guernsey Society, 1915, pp. 238 ff.

and the much disputed *Historia Regum Brittaniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth all include possible reminiscences of various movements of ancient times, even if we allow that the Gospels and Virgil may have affected these histories in many ways. Virgil's work may have given the Trojan background, sailing directions [1] in the Mediterranean may have given other details. Nennius makes "Brut the Trojan" wander in the Mediterranean and then come from Greece to Gaul where he founds Tours, and thence proceeds to Britain. He also tells of the Scotti who reached the pillars of Hercules and spread in (south) Spain, whence they moved on to Ireland. They are said to be descendants of a Scythian nobleman. Of arrivals in Ireland direct from Spain, he also names Partholon, Nemed (who returned to Spain), and the "Filii militis Hispaniae."

The Firbolg are said in Irish legendary history to have come from Greece and to have been overcome by the Tuatha de Danaan, the descendants of a refugee of an earlier battle who found his way to the northern isles, whence his descendants came out of fog and darkness with a poet and poetess, a man-physician and a woman-physician, a smith, a goldsmith and so on. The north-eastern connections of Bronze Age Ireland have been repeatedly emphasized in this article and we may well have here a memory of conflict between north-eastern and southern elements in Ireland; in prehistoric days north-east Ulster had relations of its own with other lands, along lines differing from those developed by the south.

The time certainly has not arrived, it may indeed never come, when detailed correspondences between archæology and legendary history can be worked out, but every one who reads Nennius, or even Geoffrey, or the Irish legendary histories with the archæological record in mind must be struck by details here and there which correspond in the two cases; the legendary history is not pure invention. This suggestion was advanced several years ago,[2] when Geoffrey's story of the bringing of the stones

[1] Petrie, Sir W. M. Flinders, "Neglected British History," *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, vol. viii, 1917.

[2] Fleure, H. J. and Winstanley, L., "Anthropology and our Older Histories," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, xlviii, 1918, pp. 155-78.

of Stonehenge from Ireland was still considered sheer myth. Now it is well known that they were brought from west Pembrokeshire, and in all probability were brought by sea, so Geoffrey is to a large extent vindicated on that point. He and Nennius may be vindicated on several other points as time goes on.

In other papers the present writer [1] has referred to evidence from physical study of race characters of some migrations along the Atlantic coasts, probably one after another, leaving descendants at many points along the coasts.

There is no need to repeat detail here. It may, however, be useful to suggest that, as the common association of the megalithic tombs of the west is with long-headed people, and as the link of Spain and Portugal, Western France, south-west Britain, including the Welsh coasts, and Ireland is so clear in the archæological story, there is ground for supposing that the long-headed peoples, usually dark in colouring, who are found in such large proportions in Spain and Portugal, in south-west England, south Wales, and Ireland, as well as here and there in France, owe something to the movements mentioned and most probably to the earlier ones when the idea of megaliths was being introduced. The physical characteristics of the skeletons in British Long Barrows appear to link them with Europe north of the Alps rather than with the Iberian peninsula, and reference has been made in an earlier paragraph to the connection of these monuments with those of North France and other areas. At Anghelu Ruju in Sardinia, in a rock-cut tomb, and in a few other æneolithic sepultures elsewhere, broad heads have been found, and nowadays there are nests of broad heads, with dark hair, strong squarish features, and powerful shoulders at various points on the coasts of south Italy, Sicily, south and north Spain, Brittany, south-west England, Wales, the Western Isles, apparently Shetland, the coasts of Norway and Holland. The type appears in patches here and there and is rare or absent in others. Whether this spread is to be associated with some movement of the period when the

[1] Fleure, H. J., and James, T. C., "Anthropological Types in Wales," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, xlvi, 1916; Fleure, H. J., *Races of England and Wales*, London, 1923.

megaliths were being built or to a later movement along what has here been shown to be a way of intercourse for ages one cannot at present tell.

It is possible to attempt a summary of the position taken up in this article. The eastern Mediterranean, in contact with Egypt and Mesopotamia, which both possessed an already well-established civic tradition, awoke to the complex life of cities and trade in the third millenium B.C. The "Near East," thus expanded to include a maritime development on the west, as it included the Indus development on the east, stood out above the rest of the world of the time in organization of life and ideas, and objects from it filtered out in many directions while its adventurers set forth by land and by sea. It was a time of expansion and adventure, not as yet of full equipment to spread the civic status of the Near East in distant lands, but quite able to take something of the religious associations of common life with it wherever it went. Its buildings out in the region of adventure, instead of being of the civic type, with stones accurately shaped to lie one upon another, were made of rough stones and included the megaliths, of varying dates in different regions no doubt. This article has been concerned exclusively with Europe, and has tried to picture intercourse along various lines, with stimulation of local life at many points, none isolated completely, all linking up with others in more than one direction. The ways of the sea and the ways across the continent, the latter increasingly important as the making of bronze spread, cross one another and change in relations from time to time. This is the first really great set of stimuli stirring western Europe; and the aim of this essay as been to show that the megaliths are not a matter of a vanished people and a forgotten civilization; they belong to the core of our heritage as western Europeans.

SIR JOHN FORTESCUE AND THE LAW OF NATURE.[1]

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ALL that took a prominent part in the government of England during the years 1437-1471 must at times have wished themselves burgesses of Bristol or prosperous woolmen of Northleach or Chipping Campden. Public life was a dangerous crust, the fires of private jealousy and dynastic dissension beneath ; and the cause of the peril, stated in its broadest terms, was nothing less than a great usurpation which had placed on the throne, at a time when notions of public law and of the extent of the royal prerogative were still in a state of primitive confusion, a dynasty insecure in its foundations. It is easy to make too much of the family broils and dissensions of this unquiet time ; it is equally simple to regard them as irrelevancies in the social and economic growth of England. Neither view is adequate, but the first comes nearest to the truth, however oldfashioned it may sound. Our history until the days of democracy, and perhaps even beyond, is the history of our families, of the local leadership that gave tone and life to the countryside and formed the opinion of our people. "With whom haldes you ?" was the question asked by the rebels in 1381 : "With King Richard and the true Comens." The families must hold with the king's person from which the attributes of royalty are inseparable. The intimate connection of royal person and royal office, of the *persona* and *officium regis*—perhaps one of the very few constitutional doctrines generally accepted—shows us why this necessity was paramount. Those who have read Maitland's famous essay on the Crown as Corporation Sole will not forget the emphasis that he lays on the medieval king's person in its inherent connexion with the medieval State.

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 14th February, 1934.

In 1399 Henry of Bolingbroke had made a comprehensive claim to the throne, doubtless in consideration of the varying views of what constituted a valid title. He claimed the Crown by right of descent of the true line (an erroneous claim), by the right of divine favour shown to him in his recovery of it, and—this by implication—by the right as well as the duty of removing a lawless king. This was to safeguard himself very carefully, and the lords spiritual and temporal and all the estates, we are told, " consented that the said Duke should reign over them." If Dr. Lapsley is right,[1] Henry was anxious to avoid a parliamentary deposition ; it was judiciously arranged, after considerable thought given in the matter, that Richard should convey his enforced resignation to an assembly that was not legally a parliament, and parliament, when it actually met, formally accepted the *de facto* revolution. Until 1406, the year after Scrope's condemnation, no attempt was made to secure the succession by statute. The lords and commons had ratified a *fait accompli*, and given no express opinion upon the grounds for the validity of Henry's title. But in this year the statute of VII Henry IV c. 2 was passed entailing the kingdom and Crown upon Henry's sons. It may have been no more, perhaps, than a statutory declaration of existing law ; but, as Dr. S. B. Chrimes has pointed out,[2] it is the manner of the enactment rather than its provision that is significant. The Speaker came before the King and lords in parliament, and prayed that the commons might have communication with all the lords, and the King granted the petition. After consulting with lords and commons, Archbishop Arundel, in their name, put forward a petition touching the inheritance and succession to the Crown, and prayed that the King would affirm it in parliament, and that it might be enacted and enrolled upon the rolls of parliament and held and proclaimed as a statute. Finally, it was assented by the King and the lords that the petition should be exemplified under the

[1] The reference is to his recent paper on the proceedings at Henry IV's accession, read to the Cambridge University Historical Society (1933).

[2] In his unprinted dissertation, *Studies in Constitutional Ideas in England during the Fifteenth Century* (p. 21), a work to which I am much indebted. It is to be hoped that this interesting study may soon be published.

Great Seal, and also sealed under the seals of the lords and the seal of the arms of John Tiptoft, Speaker of the commons, and in their name.[1] Now sealing as a part of the authenticating of statutes is sometimes mentioned in the year-books; but this was something of deeper implication than the ordinary statute, for it required the Great Seal, the seals of individual lords and of the commons collectively. The importance of the Act could not fail to appear. Henceforth, there was to be a title to the throne by statute.

Could such a title withstand a claim of indefeasible hereditary right? The statute of 1406 was directed against legitimism, the regular weapon of Henry IV's enemies; it remained to be seen whether someone would have the courage to say that hereditary right was something so indelible that no statute could obliterate it. It took fifty-four years and a good deal of courage for this to happen, for the eventual claimant and his friends had been attainted in the Coventry parliament in 1459 and the remainder of the lords had taken solemn oaths of allegiance to Henry VI as King "by succession born to reign." The Duke of York's *coup d'état* in June, 1460, placed the Earl of Warwick in control of the King's person, and the Yorkists in charge of the administrative offices. But the lords who had sworn to uphold the King were not to be rushed or treated cavalierly. They secured York's claim in writing, and had it read to them, as the pleading of a person issuing in the high court of parliament. Then they consulted the King, who asked them to state objections to the claim. They accordingly turned to the judges who declined to advise, because, as they said, it was a matter between two parties, the King and the Duke of York, and in matters between party and party they could not give an opinion; they were the King's justices and had only to determine such matters as came before them in the course of the law. This, on the other hand, was a business for the lords of the blood and for the peerage. The Sergeants at Law and the King's Attorney were approached, and likewise excused themselves. Everyone had wriggled out, and the lords could no longer evade the issue. They felt compelled

[1] *Rot. Parl.* III, 580–81; *Statutes of the Realm*, II, 151.

to remind the Duke of York of the " grete and notable Actes of Parlement made in dyvers Parlements to dyvers of the King's progenitours, the which Actes be sufficient and reasonable to be layed ageyn the title of the said Duc of York : the which Actes been of moche more auctorite than eny Cronycle and also of auctorite to defete any manere tytle made to eny persone." [1] That is to say, the statutes were stronger than any documentary proof of descent.

The Duke of York replied. He said that the oaths of allegiance were invalid in the face of God's law and commandment. The nature of an oath was to confirm truth, and the truth was that the peers ought to help in assisting in truth and justice notwithstanding any oath of fealty made by either of the parties. He pointed out, with devastating accuracy, that there were no acts of parliament entailing the Crown save that of VII Henry IV c. 2, to which we have just alluded ; and he urged that if Henry had legally inherited the title of king he would not have needed such an act or (assuming that they existed) any such acts. The act in question was " of no force or effect ayenst hym that is right enheriter of the said Corones, as it accordeth with Godd's lawe, and all naturall lawes, howe it bee that all other Actes and Ordinaunces made in the said parliament and sithen been good and suffisant ayenst all other persones." [2] Right might be in abeyance, but it did not decay, and would never perish—here he struck at the Lancastrian claim of prescription. The lords, no doubt as they were meant to do, gave way ; but the point to observe is, that, while in the last resort bowing to superior force, they explicitly recognised the claim of God's law of inheritance to be valid, and not to be defeated by parliament. The whole episode shows that there were no clear principles of public law on the question of the succession.

There is no evidence to show that the Chief Justice of the King's Bench who declined to give an opinion on York's claim was our Sir John Fortescue, who presided there until Easter, 1460 ; in the later enforced retractation of his Lancastrian principles he said that the matter of the succession, as the highest

[1] *Rot. Parl.*, V, 376. [2] *Ibid.*

temporal concern ought "to be treted and declared by the mooste profound and grettest and lerned men that can be gotten tharto, and not by men of my simpleness that have not moche labored or studyed in any facultie except the lawes of this londe, in which the students lerne full lytell of the right of succession of kingdoms." His lips may have been sealed in the autumn of 1460, but his pen was certainly active when after Towton he followed the Lancastrians into exile in Scotland. Between April, 1461, and July, 1463, if we accept Mr. Plummer's chronology, he wrote four tracts upholding the Lancastrian succession, which he was later to refute, together with a very important treatise, *De Natura Legis Naturæ*, in which this defence was embodied: but embodied on grounds that call for special notice, both on account of the author's method, as well as for the detailed contents. For it is a treatise that meets the Duke of York on his own ground, and is not concerned with parliamentary title; and it shows that Fortescue was by no means accurate in disclaiming a knowledge of jurisprudence, as we may term it, in favour of specialisation of "the lawe of this londe."

The first part of the *De Natura Legis Naturæ* might seem the work of a clerk rather of a knight, however lettered. Fortescue complains a little too pessimistically of the narrow curriculum pursued by the English student of law; he speaks of the lucubrations of twenty years devoted to the technicalities of the English common law, with little attempt made to master the civil law, the laws of other countries, and the general principles of jurisprudence. He himself is a fair example of a different tendency. Those robust English lawyers Hengham and Bereford might, had they lived then, have thought that he went too far in the opposite direction; though they would certainly have approved of the comparison he draws between the civil law and the English common law in his *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*,[1] and the way in which the prince in the treatise is made to commend the knowledge of the elementary principles of jurisprudence.[2] The fact is that the clerical tendency of Fortescue's mind is the normal

[1] Chs. XIX–XXIII (in the *Works of Sir John Fortescue*, ed. Lord Clermont, I, 350–53). Future references in Fortescue will be to this edition.

[2] *Ibid.*, Ch. XIV, pp. 347–48.

reflection of the academic, as opposed to the purely vocational phase of legal training given at the Inns of Court [1]; while Bracton started from the Roman law of his time, the legal student of the fifteenth century, if he had had an adequate education, and had not come to Westminster straight from a grammar-master, began with the scholastic philosophy and the canon law. The "Dialogues between a Doctor of Divinity and a student of the Laws of England," by Christopher St. Germain, published between 1523 and 1530,[2] show, for example, that the law student of the later Middle Ages took his background of general notions from Gerson's *Regule Morales* (especially for the exposition of equity or *epikeia* there set forth). The Doctor in St. Germain's dialogue starts with a summary of the teaching of the eternal law, the basis of the order in the universe provided by God's will. He then passes, in the order of legal generalities, to an exposition of natural law, defining it either as the law of living beings or as the law of reasonable creatures, *i.e.*, human beings. These matters were not "academic" in our limiting sense of the word: for the second half of the fifteenth and the early sixteenth century were times when the court of chancery and the ecclesiastical courts were often pitted against the common law tribunals. As Sir Paul Vinogradoff put it: "Long before the struggle of Coke against Ellesmere and Bacon, Common Law judges and barristers had realised the danger of their position in view of the encroachments of the Chancery." The common lawyers had to know the basis of the opponents' arguments. In the Latin version of the *Doctor and Student* the problem of conscience and equity is given a prominent place, and the doctor's definitions are those of a philosophical canonist. He begins his treatment of conscience as a source of legal decisions by a Thomist disquisition upon Sinderisis. Now Gerson's discussion of equity or *epikeia* is likewise based upon passages in the *Summa Theologica*. *Tractans non recusat subsidia aliarum facultatum*, remarks

[1] On which see in this connexion the observations of the late Professor Tout, "The Household of the Chancery and its disintegration," *Collected Papers of Thomas Frederick Tout*, ii. 164–66, and, for an earlier time, W. C. Bolland, "The Making of a Medieval Justice," *Cambridge Legal Essays*, pp. 57-70.

[2] "Reason and Conscience in Sixteenth Century Jurisprudence," *The Collected Papers of Paul Vinogradoff*, ii. 190 f.

Fortescue : the auxiliaries are all called up, and of these Aristotle and St. Thomas are the greatest.

It is clear that Fortescue had pondered deeply the famous *quæstiones* of the *Prima Secundæ* [1] which translate St. Thomas' theory of primary and secondary causes into terms of the law governing the Universe. To St. Thomas all laws manifest the divine reason, which is eternal and through God's providence exists as the norm or rule for the government of His creatures. Such eternal law is the source of all earthly law, to which the whole creation is subject, and in which all parts of creation participate. A rational creature participates with God more fully than an irrational in eternal reason, and by the light of natural reason inclines towards the acts and ends that reason prescribes. But positive law derives from practical reason, and is promulgated for the government of a political society. What, therefore, is its relation to the law of nature? St. Thomas Aquinas draws a parallel here between the speculative and the practical reason. He shows that in the speculative reason the results or conclusions of various branches of knowledge that are not naturally known to us are discovered by a deductive process through our reasoning from principles that cannot be demonstrated, but are naturally known ; in like fashion, human reason has to extract from natural law, as from certain general rules that cannot be proved, the laws which apply to particular cases. This is how human laws should be derived : to be truly laws, they must be founded in the precepts of law natural. Now Fortescue is especially concerned to show the relation between law natural and law positive (*ius regis*) ; and his concern is intelligible. He is about to appeal, in his argument, to the law of nature. If there is any serious discrepancy between natural law and royal law, if royal law is to take the foremost place and natural law to be thrust into the background, the whole argument would break down, and the arbitrary acts of a king have a validity that nothing could shake.

Fortescue begins his treatise, the *De Natura Legis Naturæ*, by the practical question, "A king recognising no superior

[1] "Reason and Conscience in Sixteenth Century Jurisprudence," *The Collected Papers of Paul Vinogradoff*, II, i, XC-CVII. *Cf.* the admirable summary in C. H. McIlwain, *The Growth of Political Thought in the West*, pp. 326–27.

has a daughter and a brother, the daughter has a son. The king dies without a son. Does the kingdom descend to the daughter, or to her son, or to the king's brother?" In other words, could the female descendants of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, possess, and, possessing, transmit a valid claim to the throne of England? Were Philippa and Anne Mortimer *coronæ capaces*? Fortescue begins by emphasising the importance of the question. *Omnia amamus, sed principari magis.* Monarchy is the highest prize of all, and therefore the problem of the succession is of the greatest significance. The question is a legal one, but involves other branches of knowledge as well. Theology and philosophy (he implies) have to be brought in; for its solution necessitates another law than the canon or the civil. The civil does not hold in England: the canon deals with spiritual matters. It is the Law of Nature which must decide. This was the code that prevailed until the granting of the Mosaic law upon Sinai, a period which, according to Josephus and Augustine, had exceeded 3644 years. But it remained in operation after the new code had been revealed, and Our Lord Himself confirmed it and enjoined it by the commandment: "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you do ye even so unto them, for this is the law and the prophets." The canon law expressly declared this to be the Law of Nature, and Fortescue quotes with approval the great statement of Aquinas that it is "nothing else than the participation of the Eternal Law in the rational creature."[1] This law "all the laws of the Old and New Testaments have approved." It is "natural equity," and under it kingship first "burst into being" (*prorupit*). Fortescue quotes various examples of just kings in the Old Testament who lived under the Law of Nature; but a difficulty here arises over the case of Saul. If it is true that the Law of Nature established the kingly office in its beginnings (*regie celsitudinis primordia stabilivit*), why did the children of Israel sin by asking them a king? If Samuel is made to say that the King will come and take away their fields and vineyards and oliveyards, does this not imply that the King is breaking the Law of

[1] I, V, p. 68, from *Summa Theologica* II, i, LXXXVI, 2.

Nature? Fortescue answers that if the people of Israel showed themselves ungrateful to God, they would not thereby denigrate the kingship. Besides, the people of Israel had God for their King, and stood in a special relation to Him: "*peculiaris vero erat sibi populus iste.*" Furthermore, the law of the man who ruled over Israel was not the law of *any* king, but of a peculiar and particular individual. On this point Fortescue seizes the opportunity for a digression upon the famous distinction which occurs plentifully in his work, and it must be admitted that the introduction of the theme is somewhat laboured. The particular individual, he implies, may govern either royally or politically. St. Thomas, in his *De Regimine Principum*, draws a distinction between *dominium regale* and *dominium politicum*. This is echoed by Giles of Rome, who in his work of the same title, says: "He exercises royal dominion who exercises it according to the laws which he himself has drawn up: but political dominion, who rules his citizens according to the laws which they themselves have made."[1] There is, however, a third kind, a *dominium politicum et regale*, the example of which is England: here the kings do not make laws nor impose subsidies without the consent of the estates, and the judges are all bound by their oaths not to give judgment against the laws of the land, even if they hear the king's mandate to the contrary. This is "political" dominion; "*id est plurium dispensatione regulatum.*" Mr. McIlwain has shown how important is this notion of plurality in Fortescue's conception of political rule. He points out that it is not the consent of the estates so much as that of the legal and organic nature of the kingdom which leads Fortescue to make this statement: not constitutionalism so much as respect for law and custom.[2] Fortescue terms those Roman Emperors "political" rulers who ruled the Roman state *ad plurium usum*. This is very important, for in Fortescue's way of looking at it, the

[1] Professor McIlwain, *The Growth of Political Thought*, pp. 358–59, has well shown the importance of these references in interpreting what Fortescue really meant by *dominium politicum*. The theory has been the subject of Dr. S. B. Chrimes's Alexander Prize Essay (1934).

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 359–63. Mr. McIlwain's earlier quotation from FitzRalph of Armagh's *De pauperie salvatoris* is particularly happy; but it seems to us that in the present treatise Fortescue varies between the two notions.

State is compounded of various parts or communities, each regulated by law or custom, which the king, though with their approval he may change or vary it, is bound to respect. Such is the notion that he attaches to the word "political." It comes, he quaintly says, from πολυς, "many," and ικων, "administration" "*as it were a system of government administered by many.*" At the same time, the ruler governing politically is also exhorted to govern royally. Not all cases fall within law and custom. The chastisement of criminal offences and the administration of equity, "which is a superlaudable relaxation of the strictness of the law,"[1] should lie entirely within the disposal of the ruler. There are other cases, too, where the political ruler will also govern royally: in a rebellion among his own subject, or in a case of invasion from abroad. A king ruling politically is of equal power and liberty with one ruling royally,[2] for, like royal, political rule, Fortescue implies, springs from the Law of Nature. It is of the essence of the Law of Nature to give each person his right; and respect for the rights of individuals and communities is (if we interpret him correctly) of the essence of *dominium politicum*. The *ius regis*, in fine, must be subject always to the Law of Nature, which is certainly the case with the law of a king governing politically as well as royally. Errors in royal law should be reformed by reference of the Law of Nature: so, conversely, errors in political, just as much as in royal government. For *ius* is born from *iustitia*, as in theology the Son originates from the Father;[3] the Creator willed the Law of Nature as His rule and instrument for ruling the world and temporal things. Even after the Fall, when original justice had gone, natural justice

[1] I, xxiv, p. 85: "Epiches, ut dicit Aegidius Romanus, est indulgere super justum, natura namque humana semper supplicat pro venia. Haec virtus, ut dicit Philosophus V° Ethicorum, justum legale non diminuit: epickaia enim dicitur ab επι quod est *supra*, vel *laus*, et καλα quod est laxa, λ mutato in ι, *quasi superlaudabilis laxatio rigiditatis legis.*" This is, of course, a familiar theme in Gerson's moral, as well as conciliar, writings.

[2] I, xxvi, p. 88. This is in effect the well-known constitutional theme of the thirteenth century: *cf.* Holdsworth, *Hist. Eng. Law*, iii, 253–54.

[3] I, xxxvii, pp. 100–1: "cum sicut Deus Dei Filius est, Veritas Patris increata, ita lex naturæ a justitia genita est veritas justitiæ creata quæ mundum quem condidit Veritas eterna conditum jam regulat ipsa sempiterna."

never left. The *lex naturæ* is the daughter of the Divine Law, and all human laws are instruments by which the Divine Law displays its virtues in human action: it stands to the Law of God as the moon to the sun.[1]

Having in this quasi-theological introduction told us something about the Law of Nature in general, Fortescue comes to apply it to the present case. He makes the three parties, the late king's daughter, her son, and the king's brother approach and plead before Justitia. The proceedings are not without humour. The daughter claims that the king's grandson proposes to exclude her, against both nature and the divine law, from her lawful inheritance. To the first of these charges the grandson replies that this is not a case where the analogy of private law will help. "Human law does not treat public office like a piece of land, or a position in a household." True, nature does not forbid a woman to minister in a lowly office or in a private capacity: but the higher offices like those of Constable or Marshal "nature has separated (*sejunxit*) from the administration of women."[2] Private estates may be allotted to women "for their sustentation": but not so public offices. Turning to the argument from divine law, the grandson shows that the kingdoms of Israel and Judah did not descend to women. The grandson has the right to rule while his mother is still alive, for the Magi asked, "*Where is he that is born King of the Jews?*"[3] The king's brother then takes up his plea, beginning with the argument from nature. Physically, women are not made like men; their anatomy, as Aristotle has shown, destines them for different tasks.[4] *Bellare et iudicare sunt officium regis.* Warfare is the highest exercise of his body, judging the supreme activity of his spirit.[5] Socrates and Plato did, indeed, allow that it might be in the interests of the State for women to fight (*sanccierunt esse politicum*): but in the *Politics* Aristotle implicitly condemns such an opinion, the canon law repudiates it also, as well as St. Thomas in his *De Regimine Principum*,

[1] I, xlii, xliii, pp. 106–9.

[2] II, iii, p. 117: "non ut agrum, ita officium, nec ut privatum ministerium, ita et publicum regulat lex humana."

[3] II, iii, p. 120. [4] II, viii, p. 121. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 122.

when he points out that the nature of an object reflects the purpose for which it is directed by the infallible Agent: and woman is weaker and less rational than man. Then (a little unkindly): "Who ever hunts for hares with cats? Nature made greyhounds for the fields and the pursuit of hares, but cats to remain at home to catch mice. For shame! He who takes a woman, fitted by nature for domestic cares, away from her home to govern people is like the man who hunts wild creatures with cats." [1] But the incapacity of the son to succeed *jure materno* is demonstrated by the law of succession in France,[2] as well as by the ordinary processes of the common law in England. In this country, if a testator, in making his will, gives his land to a man and his male heirs, and the donee has no son but a daughter, the land returns to the donor. The grant has the condition implicit, but not deliberately expressed. Even if the donee's wife marries after her husband's death and has a son, the son cannot claim that land; and if a son is born to the daughter while the father is still living, the position is not altered. Such a limited grant in England is called a *donum talliatum*, an entail.[3] Suppose the older son succeeds to his father's inheritance (granted that the donee has two sons): if the elder son has no male issue but only a daughter, who has a son, after the original donee's death the estate goes to the junior son, not to the daughter of the elder or to her son. "The writer of this knows these things well, who has studied and practised in the laws of that kingdom for more than forty years and for long has exercised the Chief Justiceship (*Judiciarium*), the supreme office of the land." How is this case in the land law different from the one about which the main contention has been raised? How can a mother transfer to her son the right which she herself cannot possess? It is a rule of law that no one can transfer to another more right than he himself is known to possess.

[1] II, ix, p. 123.

[2] II, xi, p. 124: "In Regno namque Franciæ, cum reges dominia sua dederint in forma predicta, et donatarii post se filias reliquerint et obierint sine fetu masculino, reges regni illius dominia illa concito resumunt, et ea ex tunc retinent pristino iure coronæ suæ, nullo huic juri unquam renitente."

[3] II, x, p. 124.

Fortescue is here making the king's brother depend upon the concept of the kingdom as real property: *reale est quod petimus regnum*. This is very similar to the argument which, in the same period, made the taxes voted by parliament appear as the profits of the king's court.[1] The next contention advanced by the *frater regis* comes from Scripture. Christ was not King of the Jews *iure materno*: it was Joseph who was the true heir of the kingdom of the Jews, "of the house and lineage of David," though the kings of that line had ceased; but it was not through Joseph that the kingdom descended: Our Lord did not say "My kingdom is not *in* this world": He said, "My kingdom is not *of* this world." It would have been *of* and *in* this world if He had succeeded by the right of His mother, or by some other temporal right. On the contrary, He became king *divinæ constitutionis iure*, for before He was conceived God gave Him the promise of the kingdom of Israel for ever: "that of His kingdom there should be no end." "Wherefore let us not think that so lofty a power proceeded from the temporal succession of men."[2] The purpose of St. Matthew's genealogy, a genealogy not of Joseph, but of Christ, is not to show that Christ had the right to the kingship through His mother, but that He was of the tribe of Judah: it was, as we might put it, to emphasize His Davidic descent.

Then follow the "replications" of the king's daughter and of her son to the foregoing argument. The daughter complains of the unequal struggle: she has to repel the arguments of two men against one woman, and one of those her own son. She maintains that it is unjust ("against the Law of Nature") that a woman cannot succeed in her son's life-time, and that she is debarred from the throne because she cannot make war or judge. With the point of law she does not really deal; instead, she proposes to show that a woman is *capax regalis officii*. Before the Fall, natural dominion, which, as St. Thomas says, consists in the office of counselling and directing, was always administered by the wise (for, as Aristotle in the *Politics* observes, *regens in intellectu et industria est naturaliter dominus*). Admittedly, after

[1] See T. F. Plucknett, "The Lancastrian Constitution," *Tudor Studies*, pp. 164-5.

[2] II, xi, p. 126.

the Fall it was not merit alone that determined who should succeed to the rulership ; but it is not necessary for the woman to go to battle or to give judgments personally : she can do her royal acts through vicars, as David through Joab and Justinian through Belisarius.[1] The grandson, in turn, claims not as his mother's heir, but as his grandfather's. " I should have succeeded," he says, " if my father had been my grandfather's own son : why should I not then succeed through my mother ? " He follows this up by arguing that the woman was made to be subject to man. The man has a double dominion, one in common with the woman over all living things on the earth (*animantia terræ*), the other a *prælatia* over the woman and over all living things.[2] The man is like the rector of a city state who is *prælatus*, not only over the domains of the city themselves, but over all the citizens within. As was observed by the Master of the Sentences, commenting upon St. Paul's solution to the question raised in I Corinthians, c. 11, whether women should cover their heads or not : there is no doubt that man is made in the image of God, not according to his body or any part of the soul, but according to the rational mind. From which we must understand that the first man, the rational mind whom God set over all creatures, was master over his own body, and so over the woman who was potentially within him, for woman was made of man. The woman, indeed, told the serpent that both she and Adam were bidden not to eat of the fruit of the tree : but the actual command was given before the woman was formed (*plasmata*) and by using the plural, " *we* were bidden not to eat of the fruit," she recognised that she was in Adam and subject to him, to whom alone the command had been given. Her name, *virago*, itself implies subjection. A woman did not bring forth Adam or Eve. A woman can, indeed, conceive and bring forth, but cannot procreate : it is the work of a man to create in the image of God, since to rule the world and to procreate are to be the *ymago Dei*. A woman, who is not the image of God or made in His image, cannot rule the world.[3] To sum up, *Mulier naturaliter subest viro*. Deborah, Judith, the queens of the Messagetæ, and Semir-

[1] II, xv, pp. 129–30. [2] II, xviii, p. 132. [3] II, xix, p. 134.

amis (whose example is not for imitation) will not help the argument as historical examples of reigning women; for it is principle which corrects the facts. Facts never alter underlying principles.[1] Only women subject to their husbands can rule men. One cannot help recollecting that, not much later, facts did very extensively alter Sir John Fortescue's principles, at any rate as expressed in writing.

The king's brother replies that it is not the infirmities of women which debar them from the highest rule, but the defect of natural goods. Their incapacity to rule is proved by Divine decree, and only secondarily by natural reason, and he proceeds to show why he appeals to the *lex divina*.[2] True enough, this law can only be discovered by discursive reason: but when revealed, it is more stable than the *ratio discurrens*, and cannot be shaken by the mobility of the latter. Original sin, he argues, struck the woman more severely than the man; and he draws from the events in the garden of Eden an interesting comparison between the qualities of the *lex naturæ* and the *lex divina*. The Law of Nature left the woman to be subjected to her lord at her own will: *ius divinum*, when the woman refused, compelled her by another's will. The Law of Nature sanctioned her obedience to her husband: the *ius divinum*, when she abused this liberty, subjugated her to her husband. The former directed that she should be compelled and governed by her husband: the latter, when the woman made naught of it and sought to teach her husband, made him a more severe pedagogue than he was before.[3] The argument is that the Divine Law, to which the king's brother is now appealing, binds men more strongly than the Law of Nature. None the less, we must rely on the Law of Nature for the solution of our question, since Divine Law is infinite and surpasses all human understanding: there is no comparison between it and human law, and the only possible mediator between the two is Law Natural.[4] Later on, he turns back to secular law and shows the grandson that A cannot transfer anything to B unless A has got it to transfer. "In the kingdom of England the son may

[1] II, xxii, pp. 137–38. "Ratio est quæ facta corrigit: sed facta nunqam mutant rationem."

[2] II, xxvi, pp. 141–42. [3] II, xxvii, p. 143. [4] II, xxix, p. 145.

endow his wife during his father's lifetime with his father's patrimony *ad ostium ecclesiæ*, provided the father gives his assent: but the son cannot do it with another's patrimony, even though the other give his consent. And if any grandson seek in the King's court property so entailed, although his father die in the lifetime of his grandfather, the claimant will say that the property descended to his father from the grandsire." The *regnum* as such cannot, therefore, descend to the female either by divine or by natural law. After this come the "duplications" to the argument by the king's daughter and the grandson, but these add very little to what has gone before. Justitia then sums up. In the nature of the universe the woman is subject to the man. In the state of innocence, the first man had "prelacy" over the woman by reason of the virtues with which he was able to direct and teach her. These virtues are the moral virtues, prudence, bravery and temperance. The superiority of the man over the woman is like that of the soul over the body, the superior part of the reason over the inferior. After a number of such arguments, the judge gives the verdict in favour of the king's brother. Then comes a remarkable section. Owing to the government of the kingdom being in suspense while such debates are on, and lacking a defender, the situation is likely to damage the Church through the disturbance of the peace that inevitably accompanies these circumstances. The present treatise is therefore urged to go to Rome and submit to the examination of the Pope: "For to him, as is mentioned in the previous treatise, Moses remits any difficult and arduous judgment that may arise in the courts of man, wishing that whatever he judges or teaches according to the law of God all sons of men may teach.[1] Such a conclusion might have pleased Innocent III: but it is doubtful whether Pius II would have welcomed it.

The three main arguments of the king's brother—from real property, from divine, and from natural law, as determining the woman's place in the universe—constitute an interesting comment on the chaos of contemporary ideas about the question of the succession. It is clear that there are no stable principles of

[1] II, lxx, p. 183.

public law to determine so important a matter. The whole treatise must be considered an illuminating comment on the weakness of parliamentary statute, and upon the continued prevalence of the scholastic notion of the legal norm or censor, to which appeal in doubtful cases may be made.

But Fortescue is by no means consistent in his demonstrations. He begins by repudiating the use of the courts and the civil law for settling the question at hand. Yet in the last part of the treatise the king's brother draws freely upon them,[1] and his is the winning cause. Law to Fortescue seems to have been a vestment shot with many colours: there is the law of the Church, the law of Rome, the appeal to principle, whether deep in the eternal mind or apparent to the eye of reason; and there are *humana iura*, regulating the practice of the courts. There is no need to point out that these various materials are not of the same quality. The Law of Nature, throughout its long history, has never been capable of being treated as a code to which judges can turn. It has been, in Sir Paul Vinogradoff's words, "a most powerful ferment in the evolution of legal ideas".[2] By the practically-minded it may be represented that the appeal from written to unwritten principle is vague and unsatisfactory as well as tedious in statement. The moralizing historian will find contradictions between theory and practice, and assess the argument from nature by its practical efficacy, which he will not estimate very highly. It is, however, worth while pointing out that the theory, even for strict legal purposes, was not simply of academic interest. *Ius naturale* might be appealed to in the courts. In 1468 Yelverton, J., said in the Exchequer Chamber that in the particular case he was deciding they must, like the canonists and civilians, resort to the Law of Nature which is the ground of all law; and five years later the Chancellor declared that a certain case *serra determine solonque le ley de natur en le chancerie*. The history of reason and conscience in Chancery pleading is a lengthy one, and even to-day, now that equity has become so stereotyped, it is noteworthy that fresh appeals are being made to the test of nature to decide marginal cases.

[1] II, lv-lvii, pp. 172–73.

[2] *Common-sense in Law*, p. 242.

Apart from his theory of *dominium politicum et regale*, there is nothing particularly original in Fortescue's treatise. The arguments from St. Thomas, the pleading of the parties, and even the appeal to the Law of Nature to decide the matter of the succession, are in a good orthodox tradition. On the last of these points, those who have read the treatises supporting Edward III's claim to the French throne will not greet Fortescue's appeal to *lex naturæ* with surprise. It had been tried before. But this does not make it any the less interesting. That the Law of Nature should have been employed to support a title based on an act of the estates shows that the authority of the statute was not thought to be of so fundamental a character as the principles from which all particular statutes were, in the last resort, supposed to be derived.

THE ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENT IN SHEFFIELD, 1823-1833: WITH LETTERS FROM SOUTHEY, WORDSWORTH AND OTHERS.

From the Original Papers in the John Rylands Library

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THE centenary of the abolition of slavery in the British Colonies has stimulated recently a considerable amount of interest in the history of the Abolition movement, and a number of recent works—notably Professor Coupland's *The British Anti-Slavery Movement*, and Sir John Harris's *A Century of Emancipation* have told in outline the story of the successive efforts of Sharp, Wilberforce, Clarkson and Buxton, and of the numerous local movements and organisations which were the essential instruments for spreading their propaganda and arousing public opinion to demand emancipation from the legislature.

There still remains, however, a considerable amount of uninvestigated material dealing with the history of these local organisations, capable of throwing a fresh and interesting light on the subject. One such source, dealing mainly with abolitionist activities in the Sheffield area, is in the collection of family papers originally belonging to Mrs. W. B. Rawson of Wincobank Hall, Sheffield, and now, after careful preservation by two generations of her descendants, available to students in the John Rylands Library.

Mrs. Rawson, the original owner of the papers, was the daughter of Joseph and Elizabeth Read of Wincobank Hall, both of them prominent in philanthropic circles in Sheffield, and active participants in the Anti-Slavery movement. Mrs. Rawson herself, following in their footsteps, was first a member of the committee of the Sheffield Ladies Anti-Slavery Society, formed in 1825, and later was secretary of the Sheffield Ladies Association

for the Universal Abolition of Slavery founded in 1837. The papers which she left include (1) the minute book and other memoranda of the first of those two societies, and (2) the original manuscript of, and correspondence concerning, an anthology of anti-slavery pieces which she compiled between 1826 and 1834, and together they give a very vivid and detailed picture of the activities of the women of Sheffield in the cause. They are, however, confined entirely to that section of society, and must be supplemented by other contemporary evidence if the women's part in the local movement is to be seen in its relation to the whole.

The town of Sheffield, an industrial centre with no vested interest in the maintenance of colonial slavery, offered a favourable field for the abolitionist, and as one of the growing centres of population excluded by the antiquated franchise from independent parliamentary representation, it was a strong centre of the political liberalism with which the abolition movement was to a large extent allied, so that in so far as the inhabitants of the town were able to express their political opinions before the Reform Act of 1832, they had given an unwavering support to the advocates of emancipation. From 1784 to the end of his parliamentary career, William Wilberforce had been one of the members for the county of York (of which constituency Sheffield then formed part), and after his retirement from active politics his place in the constituency was taken, for a short time, by Henry Brougham, who presented himself to the electors of Sheffield as a whole-hearted supporter of abolition, and in an election which, as he himself said, " turned very largely on slavery," [1] seems to have owed his success in no small degree to this item in his programme. In his election speech in the town he is reported in the *Sheffield Courant* (30 July, 1830) as saying, " I am an advocate for the abolition of West Indian Slavery and both root and branch I will tear it up. I have loosened it already, and if you will assist me,

[1] It is interesting to note that one speaker, in proposing the candidature of Mr. Duncombe at York, stated (with some regret) that many people had made slavery an almost exclusive test of eligibility, and that Mr. Duncombe's opponents had tried to damage his cause by falsely representing him as a supporter of slavery (*Sheffield Courant*, 6 August, 1830).

I will brandish it over your heads "—a speech on which the paper made the editorial comment (6 August, 1830) that, "The subject of West Indian Slavery has reconciled almost all parties to the election of Mr. Brougham. . . . Mr. Brougham stands pledged to his new constituents that he will never 'rest from his labours, until by the blessing of God he has seen the chains drop from the hands of the slave'. This declaration has of itself won the suffrages of a great number of electors who were otherwise opposed to the return of Mr. Brougham."

And when later on, at the election of 1832, the Reform Act had given Sheffield power to elect members of its own, all four candidates—Parker, Buckingham, Ward and Bailey—declared themselves ardent supporters of either immediate or gradual abolition, and took a prominent part in the lectures and meetings organised by the local Anti-Slavery Society.[1] This unbroken continuity of political action was no doubt helped by the organisation of local support into the various Anti-Slavery Societies, which existed at one time or another in the area. The first of these, known as the Sheffield Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society, was formed at a public meeting convened by some fifty citizens, including a number of prominent politicians and philanthropists (Hugh Parker, Thomas Asline Ward, James Montgomery, Thomas Best, Samuel Roberts, Joseph Read, Rowland Hodgson), and held in the Town Hall on the 20th of August, 1824, under the chairmanship of Hugh Parker. Samuel Shaw of Meersbrook was chosen as its first president; Samuel Roberts and Rowland Hodgson were respectively its treasurer and secretary, while most of the more prominent conveners of the meeting accepted office as vice-presidents or members of the committee.[2]

As to the activities and influence of this society we have, in the absence of its private records, little information. The *Sheffield Iris* notes, on the 27th of December, 1825, that the Anti-Slavery Society had met and "called on the British nation to strengthen the hands of parliament to effectuate its own resolutions," and in two subsequent years (1826 and 1828) there are reports of public meetings under the chairmanship of the Master

[1] *E.g. Sheffield Iris*, 10 and 17 July, 1832. [2] *Ibid.*, 24 August, 1824.

Cutler which resolved to repeat these petitions.[1] Again, during the election of the summer of 1830, the *Sheffield Courant* notes on the 30th of July that the Anti-Slavery Society was urging electors to require pledges from candidates of immediate and effective abolition, and at a meeting held in the following October the same paper reports (29 October, 1830) that the speeches lasted for three and a half hours ; that they were listened to by a crowded and attentive audience, and that numbers were unable to obtain admission.

But it is evident that after 1830 the activities of the society lapsed, and in the last stages of the campaign it had to be resuscitated at the instigation of the Agency Committee in London, which sent down one of its regular speakers (Mr. George Thompson) to give a series of lectures early in July, 1832, as the result of which a new Anti-Slavery Society was formed under the chairmanship of the prominent local reformer, poet and journalist, James Montgomery.[2] And during the actual passage of the Abolition Act, this society, as if to atone for past apathy, became almost feverish in its activities. In January, 1833, a letter to the M.P.s of the borough protesting against the rumoured intention of the Government to stop short of complete abolition received upwards of 1500 signatures in two days ;[3] in May the Society forwarded a memorial to the Premier urging a policy of immediate, instead of gradual, emancipation,[4] and right up to the last it protested actively, though unsuccessfully, against the Government plan for compensating the slave-owners and establishing the system of apprenticeship.[5]

Of the activities of the women's anti-slavery society, however, we can form a more detailed impression, thanks to the preservation of its records among the Rawson papers. This society, known at first as the " Auxiliary Society for the relief of Negro Slaves," but subsequently re-named the " Sheffield Female Anti-Slavery

[1] *Sheffield Iris*, 24 January, 1826 ; *Sheffield Courant*, 13 June, 1828.

[2] *Sheffield Iris*, 10 and 17 July, 1832.

[3] *The Sheffield Local Register*, 200,—1859 (published by R. Leader at the office of the *Sheffield Independent*), p. 249, *sub. dat.* 22 June, 1833.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 255, *s.d.* 24 May, 1833.

[5] *The Sheffield Local Register*, p. 256, *s.d.* 24 June, and 22 July, 1833.

Society," was formed at a meeting held on the 12th of July, 1825, at which the following resolutions, amongst others, were read and agreed to :—

(1) That we form ourselves into a society for the amelioration of the condition of the oppressed Children of Africa, and especially of slaves in our West Indian Colonies, who, living under British laws, receive from British hands their lot of bitterness.

(2) That each member of this society shall subscribe six shillings annually toward the furtherance of its object, in addition to any donation they may be disposed to give, or may obtain from their friends.

(4) This meeting, persuaded that the progress which has hitherto been made towards removing from this country the foul reproach and deep sin of African Slavery by abolishing the detestable traffic in negroes, is to be ascribed in great measure to the diffusion throughout the country of the knowledge of its real horrors, and to that general sentiment of abhorrence which followed, believes that in like manner to diffuse information concerning our oppressed and degraded fellow subjects in the British West Indies will promote the accomplishment of what yet remains to be done. It is therefore resolved that each of the Committee be furnished with proper documents and tracts for circulation, and from time to time with such publications as may serve to show the evils of slavery and the guilt of England in continuing a system replete with so many crimes.

(5) That the members of this society will promote its great object so far as is expedient, whether it be by circulating information : by abstaining for a time from the use of West Indian produce, particularly Sugar and Coffee, the culture of which form so great a part of the labour of slaves, and substituting East India Sugar or Sugar and Coffee from any country where labourers are paid for their work and are free, or by any other means in their power.

(7) That this society continue its exertions for the amelioration of the condition of the unhappy Children of Africa until the time may come when the lash shall no longer

be permitted to fall on the persons of helpless female slaves ; when our fellow creatures shall no longer be advertised for sale and sold like beasts at a West Indian Slave Market, and when every Negro Mother living under British laws shall press a free-born infant to her bosom.

The society formed with these objects seems to have been directed by much the same families as had already founded the men's Anti-Slavery Society. Mrs. Elizabeth Read of Wincobank Hall was the first treasurer, her daughter, Mary Ann (soon to become Mrs. W. B. Rawson) was an original member of the committee, and Mary Roberts, daughter of Samuel Roberts, of Park Grange, was its second secretary. And to begin with the society prospered. In its first year the membership reached (apparently) a total of over eighty, and in its first annual report, published by request in the *Sheffield Iris*, the committee urged that if little seemed to have been accomplished towards abolition, the main purpose of the society was to spread information, and that 1400 pamphlets had been distributed, in addition to the quarterly distributions of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and that 278 work-bags filled with tracts and documents had been sold to the public.

In the following year, 1827, the members of the committee gave a further proof of their devotion by levying an extra contribution of 6s. per head on themselves, and with these and other extra funds laying in large supplies of pamphlets—2000 copies of *The Cruelty and Oppression of Negro Slavery*, 2000 copies of *No British Slavery*, 2000 copies of *Child Stealing*, and others in smaller numbers. At the same time they also extended the scope of their work by undertaking a house to house canvas of the town to urge the use of East Indian, instead of West Indian, sugar, and received many promises of support, especially among the poor, a number of grocers reporting that the demand for East India sugar had doubled.[1] But by 1828 the society was evidently suffering from the same apathy that overtook and destroyed its predecessor. The membership had fallen to a little over thirty,

[1] An anonymous letter, signed " Friend of Humanity," urging this course of action had appeared in the *Sheffield Iris* on the 5th of December, 1826, and had been favourably commented on in the editorial.

and lack of funds prevented the printing of desirable pamphlets. The fourth annual report, drawn up in 1829, is frankly despondent. " It is not with full satisfaction," writes the secretary, " or elevated hopes that we recur to the proceedings of the past year ; there appears among our townspeople, too generally, an indifference to this subject, so incompatible with their well-known humanity and benevolence that it is only to be accounted for by the consideration of the distance at which the poor Negro is placed ; his wrongs and sufferings are not seen, and therefore too much forgotten. It does not appear that the sale of East India sugar has lately increased, notwithstanding the exertions of our committee in order to encourage the use of sugar cultivated by free men in preference to that which is produced by the labour of our fellow subjects who are continued in slavery and driven to work by the cart-whip."

An attempt was made to revive the fading interest of the society by organising public lectures, but the numbers present, even at committee meetings, continued to be very low, and in 1831 an ominous regulation was passed that committee members who failed to attend without reasonable cause should be fined a shilling—in consequence of which several resignations followed. The society, however, now the only one in Sheffield, struggled on with its work of spreading information, and had the satisfaction of surviving to celebrate the passage of the Act of 1833, and to register before its dissolution the hope that " those islands so long the theatre of British oppression, would become the theatre of British benevolence and mercy ". " With these anticipations," the report concludes, " we dissolve our society, amongst whose members some will doubtless be found ready to reassemble when a society may be formed here for the instruction of the Children of Emancipated Africa ".

This expectation was virtually fulfilled, as far as Mrs. Rawson was concerned, by her taking up, in 1837, the work of the Association for the Universal Abolition of Slavery, but even before the dissolution of the Female Anti-Slavery Society in 1833 she had turned her attention to another type of work for the same cause, and had been gradually collecting the material for an anthology of anti-slavery pieces in prose and verse which

appeared in 1834 under the title of *The Bow in the Cloud*, the original manuscript of which, together with the correspondence concerning it, forms the second main section of the Rawson collection.

In compiling this anthology Mrs. Rawson was following one of the well-marked lines of emancipation propaganda, which had always supplemented the effects of political and statistical information with imaginative literary productions designed to arouse sympathy as well as to appeal to the intelligence. In this literary sphere also, Mrs. Rawson had had her local forerunners. In 1826 two members of the committee of the (men's) Anti-Slavery Society edited a collection known as *The Negro's Friend*, or *The Sheffield Anti-Slavery Album*, consisting of items in prose and verse by local writers, the proceeds of which were to be devoted to the relief of distressed negroes in Antigua. Samuel Roberts, always one of the most prominent local workers for the cause, issued various prose pamphlets, two of which, *The Tocsin, or Slavery, the Curse of Christendom*, and *Slavery, its Evils and Remedy*, were published by the *Sheffield Iris* in 1825 and 1829 respectively. His fellow stalwart, James Montgomery, a poet of national reputation, not only contributed short pieces to poetical anthologies, but devoted one of his longer poems, entitled " The West Indies," to celebrating the abolition of the slave trade in 1807.

Mrs. Rawson's anthology, though larger and more elaborately got up (it was a limited edition of 500 copies, handsomely bound in leather) was of much the same type as the *Sheffield Anti-Slavery Album*, and includes poems and prose pieces attempting (in the main) to rouse the sympathy and admiration of the reader for the slaves by describing incidents showing their nobility of character and their unmerited sufferings. It includes pieces from some fifty-six contributors, the majority of local origin or residence, but a few of national reputation.

William Howitt, of Nottingham, for example, the author of *The Book of the Seasons* and the *History of Priestcraft*, sent two poems, entitled respectively, " The English Peasant " and " West Indian Slavery ". His wife Mary, the writer of innumerable popular children's stories, sent two entitled " The Negro

Mother " and " Visions of Slavery ". Thomas Fowell Buxton, the parliamentary leader of the movement, wrote a short prose piece " Compensation for the Slave," urging on the country the obligation of carrying on missionary and educational work among the emancipated negroes, while his brother-in-law, John James Gurney, sent some " Remarks on the Christian duty of putting an end to Slavery ".

Among the local contributors again were several of much more than a merely local reputation. Lord Morpeth, one of the M.P.s for the West Riding, sent a stirring " Ode on the Abolition of Slavery," though its effect, as he half-seriously complained to Mrs. Rawson, was slightly marred by the printer's error in putting " The glowing bursts of glowing song " instead of " The glowing bursts of glorious song," and John Parker, one of the M.P.s for Sheffield, sent another, somewhat similar in its underlying idea, entitled " Libertas, quae sera tamen ". Bernard Barton, the Quaker poet of Woodbridge, the friend of Southey, Lamb and Fitzgerald, contributed several poetical items [1] and the ever faithful James Montgomery,[2] a historical article in prose and a poem, imitated from Moore's " Sound the loud timbrel o'er Egypt's dark sea," beginning—

> " Blow ye the trumpet abroad o'er the sea
> Britannia hath triumphed, the negro is free,"

which both in spirit and execution may be taken as typical of the whole.

From the literary point of view, however, the merits of the compilation are not great, and more intrinsic interest attaches to

[1] " A Negro Mother's Cradle Song," " A Christian Negro's Thanks and Prayer," and two poems on Clarkson, " The Starting Post, or Clarkson at Wade's Mill " and " The Goal ; or Clarkson in Old Age."

[2] Montgomery was perhaps the most assiduous of the local celebrities in working for the cause—at any rate his name seems to recur most frequently as speaker or chairman at the anti-slavery meetings. From the literary point of view he was certainly the most distinguished of the local contributors to the anthology. Although he is best known nowadays as the writer of the hymns " For ever with the Lord " and " Hymns of Praise the Angels Sang," the four volumes of his collected poems enjoyed in his own day a wide circulation and considerable repute. As editor of the *Sheffield Iris* for thirty years, and as a supporter of many forms of philanthropic work, he was certainly one of the most prominent figures in the Sheffield of his day.

some of the letters sent by those who, for one reason or another, declined to contribute. Thomas Clarkson, the veteran abolitionist, in spite of his warm approval of the project, excused himself on the ground that "these little things are so foreign to my habits of composition that I know I should not be able to satisfy myself".[1] Dean Milman, Thomas Campbell, and even T. B. Macaulay, closely as he was identified with the movement, pleaded the pressure of other business.[2] Thomas Moore explained regretfully that, in spite of his keen interest, he was prevented from contributing by a strict rule which he had been obliged to make of declining all such applications—a rule, which he added, had already prevented his contributing to Montgomery's anthology in aid of the chimney sweepers.[3]

[1] Clarkson, though declining to contribute evidently appreciated the value of the poetical appeal; after referring to the "cataracts on both my eyes" which had made him delay his reply to Mrs. Rawson's request, he assures her that "With respect to the publication of your volume of poems, no person wishes it more success than I do, because no person can feel himself more interested in the cause which it is intended to promote; indeed, I think that a work of this description may secure the attention of some, whom prose-composition would not so much lay hold of, and thus a greater number of persons may become acquainted with the case of the unhappy people whose rights we advocate." He then adds the personal note," I am obliged to you for your wish that I may live to record the total abolition of slavery. This would be most delightful, but I have no expectation of it. I may, however, probably live to see the monster Slavery receive its death-wound from the British Parliament. This will satisfy me and I shall be most truly and reverently thankful for it."

[2] Macaulay goes on to make a passing reference to Sir Andrew Agnew's Lord's Day Bill and says, "I am favourable to temperate legislation on the subject. But this measure seems to have been framed by persons very much of the temper of those who forbade the disciples to rub the ears of corn in their hands."

[3] His letter is as follows:—

"Sloperton Cottage,
"*March* 24, 1826.

"Madam,

"You do me but justice in supposing that I feel deeply interested in the cause for which you are so laudably exerting yourself: and it gives me great pain to be obliged, from the peculiar circumstances in which I am placed, to withhold the sort of assistance which you do me the honour to think I could afford you. Being exposed to a variety of applications of this kind (though for far less interesting purposes) I have been obliged to adopt a general resolution not to contribute to any work of the nature of yours, *whatever*. In pursuance of this determination I was compelled, some time ago to refuse the request of Mr. Montgomery that I would write something for his work in aid of the Chimney

But the most interesting of these explanatory letters are those of Southey and Wordsworth, partly because they suggest that the two had discussed the matter and arrived at a common attitude, and secondly because they present a reasoned and considered case against the complete and immediate emancipation without compensation to the owners which the more enthusiastic abolitionists (including, apparently, Mrs. Rawson) demanded.

Southey writes as follows :—

"KESWICK, 4 *May*, 1833.

"Madam,

"Numerous and pressing employments allow me barely time for stating as briefly as possible what my opinions are upon the subject in which you express so lively an interest.

"I earnestly desire that slavery should be abolished, but I dread the consequences of precipitate measures : and having more than once set on foot petitions for meliorating the condition of the slaves, and for the gradual abolition of slavery, I have just refused to sign one for immediate emancipation.

"Obstinate as the Planters have shown themselves on the one part and rash as the Abolitionists are on the other, there is no longer any safe course. But that which might be commenced with least danger, which is most practicable, and involves the least injustice, seems to be a scheme of manumission, by which (as in the Spanish and Portugueze Indies) the master should be compelled to emancipate any slave who can purchase his freedom. If the slaves were empowered to purchase it in parts, it might facilitate the process. There should be an annual grant from Government in aid of it, so that the slave who was ready with a fixed

Sweepers—a work which both from my admiration of the Editor's genius, and my interest in the benevolent object he had in view, I should have been most happy to assist to the utmost of my power. This will, I trust, be a sufficient apology for the necessity which I feel myself under of adopting the same conduct with respect to *you*.

"I have the honour to be your much obliged servant,

"THOMAS MOORE."

portion of his own price, should be assisted with the rest. Freedom then, instead of being given indiscriminately to all, would be placed within reach of those who desired and deserved it; and in the course of one generation we might reasonably hope for the extinction of a great and crying evil.

"If a more precipitate course would—(as I verily believe it would)—bring upon our sugar-islands the horrors of insurrection, devastation, and massacre, no slight portion of the guilt must rest upon those who have hurried it on.

"These observations are hastily penned; but they are not offered without full consideration of the subject, and as much knowledge concerning it as can be obtained from official documents. Should you think proper to publish them they are at your service for that purpose.

"I remain, Madam,
"Your obedient servant,
"ROBERT SOUTHEY."

Wordsworth's letter, though dealing also with the dangers of inconsiderate haste, is equally concerned with insisting that the responsibility for the existence of slavery lies partly with the public and not solely with the slave-owners. He writes as follows:—

"Dear Madam,

"Your letter which I lose no time in replying to, has placed me under some embarrassment, as I happen to possess some MSS. verses of my own upon the subject to which you solicit my attention.[1] But I frankly own to you, that neither with respect to this subject not to the kindred one, the Slavery of the Children in the Factories, which is adverted to in the same Poem, am I prepared to add to the excitement already existing in the public mind upon these, and so many other points of legislation and government. Poetry, if good for anything, must appeal forcibly to the imagination and the feelings; but what at this period we

[1] Mr. Gordon Wordsworth kindly supplies the information that he has gone through his grandfather's papers, but knows of no verses of Wordsworth on the Slave Trade, either published or in MS., save the Clarkson sonnet.

want above every thing, is patient examination and sober judgement. It can scarcely be necessary to add that my mind revolts as strongly as any one's can, from the law that permits one human being to sell another. It is in principle monstrous, but it is not the worst thing in human nature. Let precipitate advocates for its destruction bear this in mind. But I will not enter farther into the question than to say, that there are three parties—the Slave—the Slave owner—and the Imperial Parliament, or rather the people of the British Islands, acting through that organ. Surely the course at present pursued is hasty, intemperate, and likely to lead to gross injustice. Who in fact are most to blame? The people—who, by their legislation, have sanctioned not to say encouraged, slavery. But now we are turning round at once upon the planters, and heaping upon them indignation without measure, as if we wished that the Slaves should believe that their Masters alone were culpable —and they alone fit objects of complaint and resentment.

"Excuse haste and believe me, Dear Madam,

"respectfully yours,

"WM. WORDSWORTH.

"P.S.—Unwillingness to allude to my own writings, even though indirectly led to the subject, has prevented me from expressing the satisfaction which I felt on learning from your Letter that they had afforded you so much pleasure."

Wordsworth's distaste for a rapid and radical treatment of the question is in accordance with the growing conservatism of his later years, which may also account for an evident reluctance to be publicly asociated with the abolition cause shown in a letter which he wrote to B. R. Haydon in 1840. "I forget whether I thanked you for your sketch of the slave-trade picture. Your friendship has misled you. I must on no account be introduced. I was not present at the meeting, as a matter of fact; and though from the first I took a lively interest in the abolition of slavery, except joining with those who petitioned Parliament, I was too little of a man of business to have an active part in the work. Besides, my place of abode would have prevented it, had I been

so inclined. The only public act of mine connected with the event was sending forth that sonnet, which I addressed to Mr. Clarkson, upon the success of the undertaking." [1]

The consideration of the joint responsibility of the British public, who legalised slavery, with the owners who practised it, is however, one that had evidently taken a firm hold on his mind, and we find it expressed at greater length in a letter, dated " Rydal Mount, April 25," no year being given, and addressed to Benjamin Dockray of Lancaster :—

> " Your *Egeria* arrived on the morning when I was setting off to visit my son, with whom I stayed nearly three weeks. This must be my apology for not thanking you for the valuable present somewhat earlier. . . . I have to thank you also for a most valuable paper on Colonial Slavery. In your view of this important subject I entirely coincide. Fanaticism is the disease of these times as much or more than of any other ; fanaticism is set, as it has always been, whether moral, religious, or political, upon attainment of its ends with disregard of the means. In this question there are *three* parties,—the slave, the slave-owner, and the British people. As to the first, it might be submitted to the consideration of the owner whether, in the present state of society, he can, as a matter of private conscience, retain his property in the slave, after he is convinced that it would be for the slave's benefit, civil, moral, and religious, that he should be emancipated. Whatever pecuniary loss might, under these circumstances, attend emancipation, it seems that a slave-owner, taking a right view of the case, ought to be prepared to undergo it. It is probable, however, that one of the best assurances which could be given of the slave being likely to make a good use of his liberty would be found in his ability and disposition to make a recompense for the sacrifice should the master, from the state of his affairs, feel himself justified in accepting recompense. But

[1] Printed by Knight in *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, III, 209 ; see also *Poetical Works of William Wordsworth* (1889), XI, 393-394. For the text of this, and the following letter and the note on the dating of the latter I am indebted to Dr. M. Tyson, Keeper of the Western Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library.

by no means does it follow, from this view of individual cases, that the *third* party, the people of England, who through their legislature, have sanctioned and even encouraged slavery, have a right to interfere for its destruction by a sweeping measure, of which an equivalent to the owner makes no part. This course appears to me unfeeling and unjust. . . .

"What language, in the first place, would it hold out to the slave? That the property in him had been held by unqualified usurpation and injustice on the part of his master alone. This would be as much as to say, 'We have delivered him over to you; and as no other party was to blame, deal with your late oppressors as you like'. Surely such a proceeding would also be a wanton outrage upon the feelings of the masters, and poverty, distress, and disorder could not but ensue.

"They who are most active in promoting entire and immediate Abolition do not seem sufficiently to have considered that slavery is not in itself at all times and under all circumstances to be deplored. In many states of society it has been a check upon worse evils; so much inhumanity has prevailed among men that the best way of protecting the weak from the powerful has often been found in what seems at first sight a monstrous arrangement; viz.: in one man having a property in many of his fellows . . . no man can deplore more than I do a state of slavery in itself. I do not only deplore but I *abhor* it, if it could be got rid of without the introduction of something worse, which I much fear would not be the case with respect to the West Indies, if the question be dealt with in the way many excellent men are so eagerly set upon."[1]

[1] *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, III, 200, and *Poetical Works*, XI, 397. According to Knight, *Egeria* was published in 1840, and he assigns the letter to that year. But the book is in three parts, the first dated 21 June, 1831; the second 21 June, 1832; and the third 4 September, 1840. If the three parts appeared together for the first time, then the earliest possible date for the letter is 1840, but if the three parts appeared separately, the letter may have been either 1832 or 1833. Either of these dates would accord better with the substance of the letter which definitely seems to imply that the Abolition Act had not yet come into being.

The argument here expounded at length is a cogent one, and though it does not seem to have been used in the earlier debates in the Commons [1] on the question of compensation for the owners (and may not even have been present in the minds of the supporters of the policy) it provides a strong moral basis for the Government's action. Whether the two poets were justified in their belief that the most satisfactory course would be to let the slaves purchase their freedom by a gradual and individual process is a more difficult question. But at any rate the method of gradual emancipation devised by the Government proved so unsatisfactory from the slaves' point of view that it was shortly the subject of renewed agitation, ending in complete victory for the out-and-out abolitionists.

[1] Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd series, vol. XVII, pp. 1193-1262; vol. XVIII, pp. 111-166, 204-235, 307-359.

HAND-LIST OF CHARTERS, DEEDS, AND SIMILAR DOCUMENTS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY. II (3). DOCUMENTS ACQUIRED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES.

By MOSES TYSON, M.A., PH.D.

[R. 72927] **1263-1942.** Acquired by purchase from the Rev. P. G. Langdon, Orkney House, Bedford, in July, 1933. A number were in small boxes with labels written in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, and it was decided not to disperse and rearrange these, although the labels on the boxes are not always correct.

BURTON, etc. (co. Chester).

1263-1273. A small box, with two labels, (*a*) *Auncient deedes concernge Buyrton.* (*A*) ; and (*b*) *Tnsp. of Burton, Waverton, Bechinton & Prenton. A.* It contains the following deeds :

1263. Grant by Robert de Pulford to Robert, his son. "*Hiis Testibus Willelmo de Boydel', Hugone de Brexes, Ricardo de Kingesl', Ada de Hellesby, Hugone de Pulford, Willelmo Wallense, Roberto de Bebinton,' Ricardo de Oagwurd', David de Dodleston', Ricardo de Roudestorn, Ada de cristelton', Henrico clerico & multis aliis.*" n.d. Seal, perished.

1264. Final concord between Waukelin de Arderne and Robert de Pulford. Jan. 13, 1250.

1265. Bond of Robert de Pulford, kt., concerning payment to be made on the marriage of his daughter to Philip de Baunvile. "*Hiis testibus Rogero dunvile, bertram de meles, Alano de limme, Ran' de herthul, Alexandro de baunvile, Rogero clerico et aliis.*" [1264.] Large seal in green wax.

1266. Grant by Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, to Benedict, son of Walter de Stanleg' of land in Congilton. "*Hiis testibus Dominis Thoma Tochet, Ricardo de Mascy, militibus, Rogero de Daveneport, Thoma filio suo, Radulpho de Moreton', Roberto de eadem, Ran' de Astebur', Willelmo Boydel et aliis.*" n.d. Large seal of the Earl in dark green wax, with a small counter-seal in red wax ; edges imperfect.

1267. Grant by Richard, son of Ralph de Pulford, to Robert de Pulford, rector of the church of Codington, of lands in Burton, to be held of Robert, son of Hugh de Pulford. "*Hiis testibus domino Johanne de Boydel', Willelmo de brexis, Philippo de Egerton', Ricardo de Croxton, Willelmo de Pulford, David de Barton, Roberto de bradeford, Roberto de huxle, Roberto clerico et aliis.*" n.d. Seal, worn.

1268. Quitclaim by the same to Johanna, widow of Robert de Pulford, kt., of lands once held by Robert de Pulford, rector of the church of Codington. "*Hiis testibus dominis Radulpho de Vernoun seniore, Rogero de Chedle et Willelmo de Boydel, militibus, Johanne de Leygh', Willelmo de Baggele, Roberto le Grosvenour de Ruddehet, Willelmo de Cotoun, Johanne clerico et aliis.*" n.d. Seal, worn.

1269. Lease by William de Stanlegh' to Thomas le Bordhewer of lands in Bechinton. April 23, 1343. Seal, worn.

1270. Deed of exchange between Robert de Pulford and William de Staneley of lands in Waverton. Sept. 29, 1354.

1271. Surrender by William de Stanley the elder to Wynian de Foxwist of lands in Prenton. Nov. 9, 1385. (French.)

1272. Receipt by Peter de Dutton from William de Hotun' of four pounds. Dec. 9, 1395. Seal, worn.

1273. Quitclaim by Richard de Prestlond to William de Stanley of lands in Roweshotewyke. Mar. 4, 1400. Seal.

MEOLSE, GREAT AND LITTLE (co. Chester).

1274-1286. A small basket, with a label *Manor of Meoles. B.*, contains the following deeds :

1274. Grant by H(ugh), Earl of Chester, to Bertram, his chamberlain, of Mabel, daughter of William Flamenc, and her inheritance of Meles. "*Testibus Bertramo de Verd', Johanne, constabulario Cestr', Radulpho Dapifero de Monte Alto, Roolant de Verd', Thoma dispensatore, Giliberto filio pibot, Willelmo Barb' ap'l et multis aliis apud Cestr'.*" n.d. This is a xivth century copy only. With it is the following similar copy :

1274*a*. Grant by Hugh, Earl of Chester, to William de Ruelant. "*Testibus Johanne Constabulario, Willelmo Malbac', Willelmo pat(ri)o, Bertramo de Verdun, Hamone de Maci, Helte de Boidile, Alured(?) de Comb'hachet de Ridford, Henrico fratre suo, Radulpho filio War', Gileberto filio picot, Stephano de Brexis, Rogero del quet, Guioc'(?) filio d(avi)d et ceteris quam pluribus.*" n.d.

1275. Grant by Bernard, son of William Walensis of T(ra)nemol, on the marriage of his sister, Anabel, and Hugh Ruffe. "*Hiis testibus Willelmo de Malo passu, Gileberto de Berliston', Roberto de Dunvill', Roberto Lancelin, Gileberto de Berliston', Alano de Waleya, Ricardo Walense, Thoma de Banvill', Rogero de pulle, Willelmo de Derisburi, Ricardo Bernard et Aliis.*" n.d. Seal fragments.

1276. Grant by Bertram the chamberlain and Mabel, his wife, on the marriage of their daughter, Alicia, and William, son of Bernard. "*Hiis Testibus Petro, clerico domini Comitis Cestr', Alexandro filio Radulphi, Willelmo de Haselwell, Joceramo de Hellesb', Hugone de Coron', Conan' de Molis, Ricardo Salvag', Ricardo, clerico de Roudestorn' et multis aliis.*" n.d. Two seals.

1277. Grant by Mabel, wife of Bertram the chamberlain, on the marriage of her daughter, Alicia, and William, son of Bernard. Witnesses as in 1276. n.d. Seal, imperfect.

1278. Grant and quitclaim by Bertram, son of Henry, son of Bertram de Magna Melis, to John, son of Robert, son of Hugh de Melis. "*Hiis testibus Jacobo de Pulle, Henrico de Hoton', Rogero Dunevile, Hugone de Torrinton', Fulcone de Melis et aliis.*" n.d. Seal fragment.

1279. Agreement between William, son of John, son of Dobb' of Great Moeles, and William de Stanlegh. Aug. 26, 1346. Seal. (French.)

1280. Grant and quitclaim by William, son of John, son of Robert de Magna Meeles, to William de Stanlegh. Nov. 16, 1346. Seal, worn.

1281. Grant and quitclaim by the same to the same. June 11, 1347. Seal.

1282. Grant by John de Meoles, chaplain, to Henry, son of Bertram de Moeles, and Elena, his wife, for their lives, with arrangements for the later disposal of the property. Mar. 3, 1348. Seal fragment.

1283. Pardon by Edward, Prince of Wales, to John de Moeles, chaplain, for acquiring without licence the manor of Moeles, which is held "in capite" by Henry, son of Bertram del Moeles. July 1, 1349. Seal of the Prince, in brown wax, slightly imperfect.

1284. Grant and quitclaim by William, son of John, son of Robert de Magna Meeles, to William de Stanlegh. Aug. 6, 1348. Seal, very worn.

1285. Lease by Thomas de Congulton and Cysilia, his wife, to William de Stanleygh. [1346.] Seal fragment.

1286. Quitclaim by John del Meles to William, son of William, son of John de Stanley. May 12, 1396. Seal. (French.)

SHOTWICK AND SAUGHALL (co. Chester).

. **1287-1292.** A small box, with a label *C. Saughale and Rowshotwyke*, contains the following deeds:

1287. Grant by Adam, called Le Waleys, of Hoton to Henry, son of William Le Waleys, his brother. "*Hiis testibus Roberto Le Grosvenur', vicecomite de Cestresire, Roberto de Pulle, Alexandro de Baumvile, Hugone de Berlistona, Jacobo de Pulle, Waltero, clerico de Estham et aliis.*" n.d. Seal, worn.

1288. Grant by Hugh, son of Margery de Wodebonke, to William de Hoton. "*Hiis testibus Domino Hugone Daudeleye, tunc Justiciario Cestr', Ricardo de ffoulushwrst, tunc vicecomite Cestr', Roberto de Bebintoun, Willelmo de Stanleye, Adam de Hoton', clerico, et multis aliis. Datum apud Hoton' die martis proxima post lak the fest* (sic) *dominicam Anno Regni Regis Edwardi descimo.*" Seal.

1289. Grant by Richard le Hyris of Hopton to William de Hoton of a meadow in Saulhoke. "*Hiis testibus Roberto de Bebynton', Bernardo de Tranemor', Alano de Prenton', Hugone de Pennesby, Rogero de eadem et multis aliis.*" n.d.

1290. Grant by Thomas, son of William de Hawardyn, and Auilla, his wife, to William, son of John Corbyn. May 28, 1415. Two seals.

1291. Grant by William, son of John Corbyn, to William Stanley the elder of Hoton. Feb. 21, 1461. Seal.

1292. Powers of attorney from the same to Gilbert ffowler, chaplain, and John Gyll' to deliver seisin to the same. Feb. 22, 1461. Seal.

Bebington and Poulton Lancelyn (co. Chester).

1293-1297. A box, with a label *D2. Pulton Lancelyn & Spitell in Nether Bebinton,* contains the following deeds :

1293. Grant by William Launcelin to William de Donecastre, citizen of Chester, of lands, etc., in Pulton Launcelin and Netherbebinton. "*Hiis testibus Dominis Roberto de Holond, tunc Justiciario Cestr', Roberto de Pulford, Johanne de Boidell, militibus, Ricardo de ffouleshurst, ffulcone de Meolis, Roberto de Bebinton', Willelmo Lascelis, Rogero de Donvyle, Alano de Prenton', Gilberto Donfoull, clerico.*" n.d. Seal, worn.

1294. Grant by Henry, son of Robert Payn of Pulton Launcelin, to William de Hoton. "*Hiis testibus Thoma le Mascy de Potinton', Johanne de Capenhwrst, Alano de Wetelee, Gilberto de Potinton', Ricardo de Hoton' et aliis.*" n.d. Seal, worn.

1295. Grant by Thomas, son of Thomas de Doncastre, to John Hopees, chaplain. 18 Richard II. Seal, imperfect.

1296. Powers of attorney from Katherine, widow of Thomas de Doncastre, to John Hope and John de Dokynton to deliver seisin to William, son of William de Stanley, kt. Mar. 9, 1405. Seal.

1297. Grant by John Hoppes, chaplain, to William de Stanley, kt. Sept. 14, 1405. Seal.

Wirral and Shotwick (co. Chester).

1298-1310. A box, with a label *E. Wyrall & Shotwyke Parks, &c.,* contains the following deeds :

1298. Indenture tripartite in which the "*escrit de annuite,*" by which Johanna, widow of William de Stanlegh, had granted an annual rent of 30 marks to Richard de Massi, was given into the keeping of Adam de Lanton', prior of Chester. June 6, 1325. Seal fragment, worn. (French.)

1299. Writ of Edward, Prince of Wales, to William de Stanlegh, forester of the forest of Wyrhale, ordering him to levy money due from numerous named persons, etc., for cattle in the forest, etc. Jan. 22, 1365. Impressed seal, covered with parchment.

1300. Writ of the same to William de Stanlegh, keeper of the park of Shotewyk', ordering him to deliver to Richard de Ercall, his master carpenter, material for the repair of the manor of Shotewyk'. Apr. 27, 1368.

1301. Writ of the same to the same, ordering him to deliver to Robert de Dokenfeld two oaks for palings. Aug. 19, 1371.

1302. Writ of the same to the same to deliver to Roger Gille and William Jouet an oak for the repair of a fishpond, called "le Flodyord," leased by them. Feb. 12, 1373.

1303. Writ of the same to the same to permit Richard Dounfoull, Edward de Coghull and William Savage to take away underwood, etc., which they had bought. Apr. 25, 1374.

1304. Letter from Hugh de Caluilegh to William de Stanelegh, informing him that he has appointed John de Buggynton as his parker of the manor of Schotewyk'. June 23, n.y. (French.)

1305. Letter to William de Stanelegh concerning the tithe of venison, from the park of Shotewyk' and the forest of Wyrhale, due to the abbot and convent of Chester. n.d. (French.)

1306. Indenture between Hugh de Holes and William, son of William, son of John de Stanley, relating to certain payments. Jan. 13, 1378. Seal. (French.)

1307. Writ of Richard II, King of England, to the keeper of the park of Shotewyk', to deliver to John de Wodehous, chamberlain of Chester, two deer. July 13, 1384. (French.)

1308. Receipt by William de Stanley the younger from Richard de Besselowe, receiver of Clone, of two silver marks. Mar. 18, 1399.

1309. Grant by Henry, Prince of Wales, to William de Helegh. Nov. 16, 1399. Fragments of large seal. (French.)

1310. Grant by the same to the same of the office of keeper of the park of Schotewyk'. Dec. 1, 1400. Fragments of large seal.

MOLLINGTON, etc. (co. Chester).

1311-1327. A box, with a label *Mollington Banester. F*1, contains the following deeds:

1311. Grant by Robert Banastre to William de Lee and Clementia, his wife. June 24, 1278. Very worn. Seal, worn.

1312. Powers of attorney from Robert Banastre to William de Heskayt to deliver seisin to William de Lee. Aug. 4, 1284. Seal, worn.

1313. Grant by Robert Banastre to William de la Lee and Clementia, his wife, daughter of Robert. "*Hiis testibus Dominis Patricio de Haselwell, Rogero de Donvyle & Ricardo de Sandbache, militibus, Roberto de Pulle, Jacobo filio suo, Henrico de Bechington', Matheo filio suo, Johanne Torold, Hugone de Berleston', Roberto de Bebington' et aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

1314. Grant by Henry, lord of Becheton, to Richard de Hasyldene of land in Becheton. "*Hiis testibus Thoma de Weloc, Ricardo de Bradewalle, Thoma de Hellewrye, Radulpho de Arclede, Ada de Le boye, Johanne clerico et multis aliis.*" n.d. Seal, imperfect.

1315. Grant by Peter de Gildecachishevede to Benedict, son of Walter de Stanl', of land in Becheton ("due snapes") and Haseldene. "*Hiis*

testibus Domino Ricardo de Sondbache, milite, Thoma fratre suo, Thoma de Weloke, Ricardo de Hatsale, Ada de bosco, Ricardo de lostoke, Nicolao de chercheleys, Petro clerico et aliis." n.d. Seal.

1316. Grant by Robert Banastre to Robert, his clerk, of Chester. "*Hiis testibus Gilberto de Haydoc, Philippo de Baynvile, Willelmo de Hoton', Roberto le Mercer Cestr', Roberto de Hala, Johanne Thorold, Willelmo Sorell', Roberto de Bebinton, Philippo de Cestr', clerico, et aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

1317. Grant by Adam de Hoghton, kt., to William de ffarington, Robert de Prestecote, Henry de Wetanishan, Roger de ffarington, and Edmund de Prestecote of lands in the townships of "Hoghton, Wythinhull, Wylton, Wythull in bosco, Chernockrichard, Ravenismelis, Lynisay, Plesinton, Aston, Grimmisargh, Gosenargh, Wytingham, Cumbrehalgh, Dilleworth, Chipin, Hodrissale, Lee Anglica et Gallica, Assheton iuxta Preston, Hawayth & Wattistwysull" in the county of Lancashire, and in Molinton Banastre in the county of Chester. June 25, 1355. Seal, worn.

1318. Petition to the King's Council by Richard of Hoghton for the recovery of 50 marks in the hands of the king's officials, being issues of the manor of Molynton Banastre, which was held of Sir Robert Banastre by William de Lee and his heirs, namely first by his son, Henry, and then by his daughter, Sybil, wife of Richard. "*Et adoncs Sire Hughe de Audeley qe deux assoille fuist Justice de Cestr' et Sire Willam de Burstowe Chambrelein.*" n.d. (French.)

1319. Mandate from the official of the Archdeacon of Chester to the vicar of the parish church of Sondbache, etc., to warn those who had cut down and destroyed certain trees of William de Stanlegh at Haseldene in Bechynton that within fifteen days they should make restitution under penalty of excommunication "*pulsatis campanis, candelis accensis et extinctis ac cruce in manibus erecta.*" Mar. 21, 1384. Official's seal.

1320. Bond of William de Stanley the elder, and of William, his son, to Hugh de ffaryngton, clerk, made in the exchequer at Chester. Sept. 25, 1382.

1321. Indenture of lease by Emmota Launcelyn, widow of John Toro(n)t, to William de Stanley, kt., William de Venables of Troghford, and John, son of Robert de Bruyn of Bacford, of land in Molynton Toro(n)t. Nov. 22, 1403. Three seals, imperfect.

1322. Powers of attorney from Richard Hoghton, kt., to Roger Ethelston to deliver seisin to Ralph Hoghton, his son. Apr. 24, 1458.

1323. Indenture of lease by Ralph Hoghton, esq., to William Harryson and Richard Coke, Mar. 28, 1471. Seal.

1324. Grant by William Stanley of Hoton, kt., kinsman and heir of Henry Hoghton, esq., namely the son of Alicia, sister of Henry, to Matthew Swetenham, chaplain. Oct. 1, 1510. Seal.

1325. Grant by Matthew Swettenham, clerk, to William Stanley of Hoton, kt., son of the late William Stanley, kt. Jan. 15, 1529. Seal and signature.

1326. Grant by Edward, Earl of Derby, to William Stanley of Hoton, esq., the office of Captain of the Isle of Man. Oct. 14, 1544. Signature and seal. (Eng.)

1327. Grant by Sir Rowland Stanley of Hooton, kt., to Richard Coventry, yeoman, Richard Barloe and William Harryson, husbandmen, and other inhabitants of Mollington Torrald, of licence to occupy certain common or waste. Mar. 8, 1582/3. Three seals. (Eng.)

BURTON (co. Chester).

1328–1332. A box, with a label *Deeds &c. relating to the Ldsp & Town of Burton. F2.*, contains the following deeds :

1328. Release by Walter, abbot of Chester, to Robert de Pulford of all actions against him by reason of certain land in Burton granted to the church of Bruar. "*Hiis Testibus Domino Th. Arch. Cestr', Magistro J. officiale, Magistro Alexandro clerico, Hugone de Wauerton' & aliis.*" n.d.

1329. Grant by Richard de Pulford, clerk, to Richard, son of Ralph, his brother. "*Hiis testibus Hamone de Pulford, Petro, fratre suo, Ricardo filio David, Moricio, fratre suo, Thoma de Belev(?), Rann' de Mulneton', Roberto filio Margerie de Neuton', Galfrido clerico et multis aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

1330. Grant by John de Ardene to Robert, son of Hugh de Pulford, and Johanna, his wife. "*Hiis testibus David de Barton', Willelmo de Mulneton', Johanne de Larketon', Johanne de Huxleg', Roberto de Roweton', Hugone de Cristilton', Roberto de Huxleg' et aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

1331. Deed of partition of the estate of the late Robert Grosvenour, esq., between his six daughters. They, with their husbands, were Peter Dutton, esq., and Elizabeth, his wife, John Legh of Bothes and Emma, his wife, Agnes, Margery, Richard Wenyngton and Katherine, his wife, and Thomas Leycestre, and Margaret, his wife. The deed concerned Burton, Dunham Mascy, and fishing rights on the Dee. June 10, 1465. Seals and fragments.

1331*a*. Another deed relating to the same. June 10, 1465. Seals and fragments.

1331*b*. Another deed relating to the same. June 10, 1465. Ten small seals.

1332. A further partition of property of the same after the death of Johanna, his wife, which ought to have gone to his daughter Margery, who had died without heirs. Emma was then wife of Ralph Egerton, Agnes was the wife of William Stanley, esq., and Margaret had died leaving a son, John. May 10, 1474. Nine seals and fragment. Schedule, with rents, attached.

THE WIRRAL (co. Chester).

1333–1341. A box, with a label *G. Bailywick & Forrest of Wirrall*, contains the following deeds :

1333. Writ of Edward, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester, to William de Stanlegh, forester of the forest of Wyrhale, to levy certain fines. A long list of the offenders, offences and fines is given. Jan. 26, 1351. Seal, imperfect.

1334. Grant by the same to the same. Mar. 24, 1351. Privy seal, worn. (French.)

1335. Indenture of agreement between William de Stanlegh, forester of the forest of Wyrhale, and Henry de Hoton, lord of the township of Hoton. Oct. 14, 1351. (French.)

1336. Writ of Edward, Prince of Wales, etc., to the same to refrain from certain actions against Henry de Hoton, "*usque ad adventum consilii nostri ibidem*," etc. Mar. 10, 1352.

1337. Letters patent of Edward III, King of England, concerning certain concessions made to William de Stanlegh after the deafforestation of the Wirhale. Nov. 12, 1376. Large fragment of Great Seal.

1338. Duplicate of the same. Large fragment of Great Seal.

1339. Schedule of various xivth century deeds, relating to the forest of Wirral. Written in the xviith century.

1340. Quitclaim by William, son of William, son of John de Stanley of Wyrhale, to William de Hoton. June 23, 1377. Seal. (French).

1341. Rental giving the rents of Sir Rowland Staneley, kt., from places in the "Hundrithe of Wirrall." n.d.

BETCHTON, etc. (co. Chester).

1342–1348. A box, with a label *G2. Becheton, Chorleton, Meoles, Frodsham, &c.*, contains the following deeds:

1342. Quitclaim by Thomas, son of John, son of Hugh de Bacford, to Henry Torond of land in Chorlton. "*Hiis Testibus Dominis Hugone de Audeleg', tunc Justiciario Cestr', Hamone le Massy, militibus, Ricardo de foules-hurst, tunc vicecomite Cestr', Rogero de Cochul', Roberto de Bebinton, Willelmo de Capynhurst, Willelmo Torond, filio Willelmi Torond, et aliis.*" n.d.

1343. Grant by Avilla, daughter of Philip de Bechinton, to William de Stanley the elder of lands in Mikulstorton and Litulstorton. July 21, 1367. Seal, worn.

1344. Grant by William de Makulsfeld, chaplain, to Gilbert de Twys and Alicia, his wife, of land in Flynt. May 6, 1375. Seal, worn.

1345. Grant by Gilbert del Twysse, burgess of Flint, to John de Helegh' of a quarter of a burgage in Flint. Feb. 11, 1389.

1346. Indenture of lease by William de Stanley the younger to Hugh Drake of land in Childerthorneton. March 26, 1397. (French.)

1347. Grant by William de Stanley, kt., to William, his son, and Blanche, his wife, of land in le fflaskes in the hundred of Macclesfeld, in Chorleton, and in le Meoles in the hundred of Wyrhall. Feb. 7, 1403. Fine seal.

1348. Powers of attorney from John Glayve and John de Tildesley to Edmund Lytherland to deliver seisin to William de Stanley of Hoton of land in Frodesham, etc. Sept. 10, 1449. Two seals.

UPTON IN WIRRAL (co. Chester).

1349-1360. A box, with a label *I1. Title to Tythes of Upton and to lands in Upton*, contains the following deeds :

1349. Grant by Richard de Capenhurst and Margery, his wife, to William de Hoton. "*Hiis testibus Roberto de Bebynton', Radulpho de Hesiluelle, Willelmo de Lacelys, Hugone de Pennesby, Johanne de Bechynton' et multis aliis.*" n.d. Seal fragment.

1350. Indenture of lease by Hugh Mavy and Havisia, his wife, to William de Hoton. Aug. 10, 1321. Seal, worn.

1351. Lease for life by John Dounvill to Alicia, daughter of Richard de Oxton. May 1, 1370.

1352. Grant by John Spenser, vicar of the church of Bacford, to Richard de Morton of Morton in Wyrall and Alicia, his wife, with remainder to William Stanley, kt., of lands in Morton and Upton. Sept. 19, 1402. Seal.

1353. Lease by Johanna, widow of John de Warrewyk the younger, to William de Stanley, kt. Nov. 7, 1402. Seal.

1354. Grant by Agnes de Upton, daughter of Roger, son of James de Upton, to William, son of William de Stanley, kt., of lands in Upton in Wyrehale and Salghan Mascy. Oct. 31, 1404. Seal.

1355. Powers of attorney from the same to Gilbert Glegge and John, son of Hugh de Weleyfed, to deliver seisin of the same. Oct. 31, 1404. Torn. Seal.

1356. Lease for life by William, son of William de Stanley, kt., to Agnes de Upton of the same. Nov. 3, 1404. Seal.

1357. Quitclaim by John de Pulle, kt., and James, his son, to William, son of William de Stanley, kt., of the same. Mar. 29, 1405. Two seals.

1358. Grant by Peter de fforneby, son of Hugh de fforneby, to William de Stanley, kt. of lands in Upton in Wyrehale and Salghale. Nov. 17, 1411. Seal.

1359. Notes by Rowland Stanley. n.d. (Eng.)

1360. Notes on several deeds relating to Upton and Saughall. n.d.

STORETON AND PENSBY (co. Chester).

1361-1363. A box, with a label *I2. Storton & Pennesby*, contains the following deeds :

1361. Bond of Edward Mynshull, esq., John Mascy of Podyngton, esq., and John Glayve of Prenton to William Stanley of Hoton, kt. Oct. 20, 1526.

1362. Award of arbitration by Sir Piers Dutton, kt., Richard Grosvenour, Randolph Pole, clerk, and John Whitmore between Sir William Stanley of Hoton, kt. and Edward Mynshull, esq., concerning land and rights in Wyrehal, Storton and Tranmoll. Nov. 20, 1526. Two seals, and fragments. (Eng.)

1363. Deed of exchange between Robert ffitton of Cauerden, co. Chester, and William Stanley of Hoton, kt. Feb. 20, 1532. Seal.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1364-1370. A box, with a label *Grants of the Tythes &c. of Sodor & Man. K*1, containing the following deeds :

1364. Indenture between Henry Toront, citizen of Chester, and Agnes, his wife, of the one part, and Richard, son of William, son of Hugh de Chorleton of Little Salghale, concerning an annual payment. Sept. 27, 1348. Seal, imperfect. (French.) Attached is a contemporary memorandum.

1365. Mandate from William, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, to Master Oliver de Lye, his official in the archdeaconry of Chester, Roger Dounvile, LL.B., of Lymme, and Robert del Bothes of Bebynton, rectors of the diocese, to inquire into the birth of Roger de Wetenall. Sept. 25, 1448.

1366. Letters patent from Edward, Prince of Wales, son of Henry VI, to his Auditors of North Wales, relating to his father's concession to Ralph Botiller, kt., lord of Sudeley, and to Bartholomew Bold, esq., of the custody and captaincy of the town of Coneway in North Wales, and to the said Ralph, of the office of master forester of the forest of Snowden, in the Principality of Wales. Nov. 19, 1458.

1367. Grant and confirmation by Edward, Earl of Derby, Lord Stanley and Strange, Lord of Man and the Isles, to John, Bishop of Sodor, of all lands, tithes and possessions which the Lords of Man, his predecessors, had granted. A long list of churches, etc., is given. July 2, 1533. Signature of the Earl.

1368. Surrender by Thomas Carter of Magna Salghale to William de Stanley of Hoton, esq., of lands, etc., in Magna Salghall. "*Hiis testibus Ricardo Bunbury, Hamone Lee, Johanne Tyllesley et multis aliis.*" n.d. Copy only. See below, 1371-1373.

1369. Certificate by "*Rondyll Egerton, Thomas Vernon, Eldermen, Thomas Cleyton, Baly, Jamys Hyndley, John Rayne, senior, Jamys Smythe, Sir Richard Philyppe, Sir Richard Kent, Sir Robert Matson, Sir Robert Anleysargh, capell' of the Nevcastell*" that William Coke, Robert Huntynton and William Broyne were present and prepared to make a certain payment to Richard Mellors "*to be payd betwyx the paryschyns of Estan & the said Richard Mellors,*" on Nov. 11, 1505. Copy only. (Eng.)

1370. Letter to "*the gentilmen and ffreholders of the Hundreth of Wirehall*" from "*Rauff Birkhened.*" Jan. 17, n.y. (Eng.)

GREAT SAUGHALL (co. Chester).

1371-1373. A box, with a label *L2. Great Salghale*, contains the following deeds :

1371. Grant by Thomas Carter of Magna Salghale to William de Stanley of Hoton. Feb. 1, 1434. Seal.

1372. Powers of attorney from the same to Henry Hobson of Neston to deliver seisin of the same. Feb. 1, 1434. Seal fragment.

1373. Grant for life by William de Staneley to Thomas Carter of the same. Apr. 6, 1434. Seal.

MORETON NEAR SAUGHALL (co. Chester).

1374-1377. A box, with a label *M2. Tnsp of Morton juxta Salghale*, contains the following deeds :

1374. Quitclaim by Hamo de Mascy to John Le Daneys. "*Hiis testibus dominis Patricio de Hesilwall', Ricardo de Mascy, militibus, Willelmo Le Waleys de Hotona, Roberto de Pull', Hugone de Berlistona, Roberto de Bebyntona, Waltero de Esthama, clerico, et aliis.*" n.d. Seal fragment.

1375. Grant by John Le Deneys of Great Neston to Margery, his daughter. "*Hiis testibus domino Patricio de Haslewelle, milite, Jacobo de Pulle, Hugone de berniston, Willelmo de Lecton', Roberto de bebinton, Willelmo Waleys de tranemol', Henrico clerico et aliis.*" n.d. Seal, worn.

1376. Grant by Henry de Chorleton and Margery, his wife, to William de Hoton. "*Hiis testibus Roberto de Bebynton', Willelmo de Lacelys, Alano de Prenton', Johanne de Bechinton', Hugone de Pennesby et multis aliis.*" n.d. Two seals, worn.

1377. Grant by Agnes Scharachar to Cecily Denne and Agnes, her daughter. Mar. 28, 1389. Seal.

HOOTON, POOLE, PUDDINGTON, etc. (co. Chester).

1378-1384. A box, with a label *N1. Hooton, Poole, Podynton &c.*, contains the following deeds :

1378. Mortgage by John de Leghton to Ranulph le Bruyn, of lands in Podynton, etc. Sept. 29, 1359. Seal fragment.

1379. Indenture between William de Stanley, kt., Margery, his wife, and William de Stanley, their son, of the one part, and Isabel, widow of Robert de Pulle, John de Pulle, kt., and James de Pulle, his son, concerning lands, rights, etc., in Pulle, Netherpulle, Hoton, etc. Apr. 7, 1402. Three seals. (French.)

1380. Writ of *diem clausit extremum* to Thomas Stanley, kt., John Hondeford, kt., John Maynwaryng, kt., John Sauvage, esq., Thomas Dutton, esq., William Stanley, esq., John Doune, esq., John Nedham, Richard Bolde, Thomas Duncalf, Arnold Wodde and Thomas Godefelowe, concerning Hamo Mascy, late of Podyngton. n.d. Copy.

1381. Will of Robert Hesketh of Rycrofte. Feb. 6, 1516/7. Seal. (Eng.)

1382. Depositions made by John Jenkynson of Upton, before Brian Garnet of Chester, public notary, on behalf of Sir William Stanley of Hoton, kt., as to lands in the parish of Overchurche, etc., belonging of right to "*the college churche of Seynt John in Chestre.*" Apr. 10, 1533. Notarial sign. (Eng.)

1383. Bond of James Glasior of Chester to John Knight of London. Aug. 29, 1581. Seal.

1384. Notes regarding a messuage in Mollington Banister in the tenure of Sir Robert Davies. n.d. (Eng.)

CHILDER THORNTON, etc. (co. Chester).

1385-1390. A box, with a label *Childer Thornton. O*, contains the following deeds :

1385. Grant by William Lancelyn, son of William Lancelyn of Pulton, to Ranulph Lancelyn, his uncle, son of William Lancelyn, of lands in Bebynton, etc. "*Hiis testibus Domino Reginaldo de Grey, tunc Justiciario Cestr', Dominis Uriel de Sancto petro, Petro de arderne, Patricio de hasilwelle, Philippo de Baumuile, Rogero de Doumuile, militibus, Roberto de Pulle, Alexandro de Baumuile, Roberto de Bebinton' et aliis.*" n.d. Seal, worn.

1386. Grant by Robert, son of Richard, son of Gene de Thorrinton, to Simon de Aston and Annota, daughter of William de Thorrinton, niece of Robert. "*Hiis testibus Willelmo Walenc', Roberto de pulle, Rogero de lecton', Hugone de berniston', Willelmo puntling', Randulfo de pulle, Radulfo clerico cum aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

1387. Quitclaim by Simon of Aston to Richard, son of Matthew, smith. Feb. 8, 1318/9. Seal fragment.

1388. Final concord, made "*in pleno Com' Cestr'*," between Henry de Hoton, of the one part, and Hugh Drake of Childerthornton and Emma, his wife. Nov. 3, 1349.

1389. Indenture of grant by Henry de Hoton, lord of Hoton, to Hugh Drake and Emma, his wife. July 9, 1357. Two seals, worn.

1390. Surrender by Hugh Drake to William de Stanley the younger, and Margery, his wife. Mar. 21, 1397. Seal. (French.)

BEBINGTON (co. Chester).

1391-1397. A box, with a label *Q. Pulton Lancelin, le Spytell, Bebinton, &c.*, and a second label *Bebington & ffee ffarm rent in Parsons Lane*, contains the following deeds :

1391. Grant by William Launselyn de Poulton to Ranulph, his son, of lands in Bebynton and Poulton. "*Hiis testibus Domino Rogero de Dunvile, milite, Philippo de Bamvile, Roberto de Poll', Roberto de Bebyntona, Willelmo Le Waleys de tranmoll', Hugona de Thorntona, Henrico de Bechintona et aliis.*" n.d. Seal, imperfect.

1392. Grant by William Launcelyn, lord of Pulton Launcelyn, to Robert le Heyre of Lower Bebinton. "*Hiis testibus Alexandro de Baunvile, Rogero Dounvile, Roberto de Bebinton', Bernardo de Tranemor, Willelmo Waleys, Johanne de Bechinton', Willelmo de Lasceles et aliis.*" n.d. Seal fragment.

1393. Grant by the same to William, son of Ranulph Launselin, of licence to build three new houses in Lower Bebinton. "*Hiis testibus domino Roberto de holand, tunc Justiciario Cestr', Willelmo de stanleye, Roberto de bebinton,' Alano de Prenton', Rogero Dounvile et aliis satis.*" n.d. Seal fragment.

1394. Deed of exchange between the same and the same. "*Hiis testibus Domino Payn typetoft', tunc justiciario Cestr', Ricardo de fouleshurst', tunc vicecomite Cestr', Roberto de Bebinton', Willelmo de Stanle, Johanne de Bechinton', Hugone de Berneston', Radulpho capellano et aliis.*" n.d. Seal fragment.

1395. Grant by John de Bebynton, chaplain, to Ellen le Wayte. Sept. 21, 1375. Seal.

1396. Powers of attorney from John Hoppes, chaplain, to William de Thorneton, chaplain, and John Launcelyn, lord of Pulton, to deliver seisin to William de Stanley, kt., of lands in Pulton Launcelyn, le Spytell, and Netherbebynton. Oct. 6, 1404. Seal.

1397. Grant in fee farm by William Stanley of Hoton to William Snede of Chester, draper, of a house in Parson's lane, Chester. Nov. 20, 1476. Seal, worn.

STORETON, TRANMERE, etc. (co. Chester).

1398-1420. A box, with a label *R1. Little Saughall, Great & Little Storton*, contains the following deeds :

1398. Quitclaim by Sibyl, widow of Ralph, son of William de Northwico, to Alexander de Baumvile, of land in Little Storeton. "*Hiis testibus Roberto de Bebinton', Willelmo Launcelyn, Bernardo de Tranemor, Alano de Prentona, Willelmo de Legton', Willelmo de Tranemor, Rogero clerico et multis aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

1399. Grant by Ralph, son of John Starky, of Tranemol, to Philip de Beynvil of pannage in Tranemol. "*Hiis testibus Dominis Willelmo Layncelyn, Patricio de heslewell', Rogero Doynvil', militibus, Roberto de pulle, Bertramo de mel', Roberto de Bebynton', Willelmo Wallense de tranemol, Alexandro de Beynvil', Willelmo de Prenton', Rogero de Caldey et aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

1400. Grant by William, son of William de Prenton, to Cecily, his sister, of land in Tranemul. "*Hiis testibus Philippo de Banvile. Alexandro fratre suo, Roberto de pulle, Roberto de bebyton', Hugone de berniston', Johanne Starky, Radulpho clerico cum aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

1401. Grant by William de Longelee and Cecily, his wife, to William, son of Roger de Lecton, of the same. "*Hiis testibus Dominis Patricio de*

heslewall, Rogero deynvil', militibus, Willelmo de Prenton', Jacobo de pulle, Roberto de bebynton', Rogero de caldey, Ade de penisby et aliis." n.d. Seal and fragment.

1402. Grant by Johanna, widow of William de Prenton, to William, son of Roger de Leton, on his marriage with Isabel, her daughter, of land in Tranemol. "*Hiis testibus domino Patricio de heselwelle, domino Rogero dunevile, militibus, Hugone de corona, Roberto de pulle, Willelmo de hoton', Hugone de berneston', et aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

1403. Grant by William, son of Roger de Lecthon, and Isabel, his wife, to Roger, their son, and Johanna, daughter of Roger del Greuis, of land in Tranemol. "*Hiis testibus Dominis Hamundo de Mascy, Patricio de Halilwelle, militibus, Jacobo de Pulle, Alexandro le Bonvile, Willelmo de Stanleye, Radulpho de Potinton', Willelmo de houkelouwe, Willelmo de Mascy, Alano de Prenton', Roberto de Bebinton', Ricardo clerico et multis aliis.*" n.d. Two seals.

1404. Quitclaim by John de Wodebanke to William, son of Henry de Hoton, of a fishpond, called "Londelake," in Rouueschoteuyk. "*Hiis testibus Willelmo de Capenhurst, Rogero de Greuys, Willelmo de Potynton', Roberto Kenyan, Ricardo de Ridley et aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

1405. Grant by Philip, son of Hugh de Pulford, to Robert de Pulford, his brother, of land in Neubold, near Burton. "*Hiis testibus Dominis Johanne de Arden' & Ricardo de Massy militibus, Johanne de Legwe, Willelmo de Mulneton', Ricardo de pulford, Petro de thornton', Johanne de Golburn', Roberto de huxleg', Roberto clerico et aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

1406. General release by Bertram de Moeles to John de Moeles. May 20, 1314. Seal.

1407. Quittance by Robert de Witemor, citizen of Chester, to Johanna, aforetime the wife of William de Stanlegh. June 29, 1324.

1408. Grant by Roger, son of Roger de Kareswalle, to Adam de Stanlegh of land in Stretthon, Great Dolfyn, Berardesmor, Depemor, etc. Nov. 3, 1329. Seal.

1409. Grant by Thomas Bernard to William, smith of Bebinton, of land in Tranemol. "*Hiis testibus Bernardo de tranemol, Roberto de Bebinton', Johanne de Bechon', Ricardo Starky, Willelmo clerico et aliis.*" n.d. Seal fragment.

1410. Grant by Thomas Bernard of Tranemol to William de Thoneworthe, clerk, of land in Tranemol. "*Hiis testibus Roberto de Bebinton', Bernard de Tranemol, Alano de Prenton', Ranulpho Starky, Ricardo Starky et aliis.*" n.d. Seal, worn.

1411. Grant by John Godart and Rose, his wife, to Richard, son of Henry Coly of Pulton Launcelyn and Katherine, his wife, of land in Tranemol. Oct. 3, 1379. Three seals, worn.

1412. Quitclaim by Rose, widow of John Godard, to the same, for his life, of the same. Nov. 17, 1382.

1413. Quitclaim by the same to the same of the same. Nov. 27, 1382. Seal, worn.

1414. Lease by William de Stanley the elder to Richard de Staundon, clerk, of land in Claverton. June 18, 1389. Seal. (French.)

1415. Powers of attorney from Robert de Childewall, citizen of London, to Henry Coly of Pulton launselyn to receive seisin of land in Tramur. Sept. 21, 1396. Seal.

1416. Powers of attorney from William, son of William de Stanley, kt., and Blanche, his wife, to James Fare to receive seisin from William de Stanley, kt., of the manor of Stanley, co. Stafford, and lands in le Flaskes, Chorleton and Meles, co. Chester. Feb. 7, 1403. Two seals.

1417. Quitclaim by Alice, widow of Thomas de Clotton, daughter and heir of William de Laken the younger, son and heir of Ellen de Laken', a daughter of Philip de Baumvill, kt., to William de Stanley, kt., of lands, etc., in Great Storton and Little Storton. May 12, 1410. Seal.

1418. Lease by William Porter, kt., to William Stanley the elder, kt., of Hoton, of the manor of Shotewyk. May 6, 1423. Seal fragments. (French.)

1419. Powers of attorney from Rowland Stanley of Hooton, kt., to Rowland Wrighte and Ralph Birtles to receive seisin of the manor of Stanley, co. Stafford. Mar. 29, 1580. (Eng.)

1420. Grant and quitclaim by Simon de Clifton and Ellen, his wife, to John de Stanl' of the manor of Hovere elkesdon (? Over Elkstone), co. Stafford. "*Hiis testibus Thoma de Mapilton', Thoma Heruy, Henrico de Coudray, Benedicto de lomtredon', Johanne de Beuresford, Rogero de Bagenholt et aliis.*" n.d. (temp. Ed. I.). Seal.

STANLEY, etc. (co. Stafford); BEBINGTON, etc. (co. Chester).

1421-1435. A box, with two labels, (*a*) *R2. Manor of Stanley, Stretton, Gr[t] Solphyn & Little Solphyn;* and (*b*) *Stanley in Staffordshir'*, contains the following deeds:

1421. Bond of William Lancelyn, son of Robert Lancelyn, relating to the grant of the advowson of Bebinton, etc., to Simon, abbot of Chester, and the convent of the same. "*In cuius rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Et ad maiorem securitatem dictis Abbati et Conventui eorumque successoribus imperpetuum faciendam sigilla domini Reginaldi de Grey, tunc Justiciario Cestr', et domini A. de Stanford, tunc Archidiacono Cestr', apponi procuravi. Testibus prefatis dominis R., Justiciario, et A., Archidiacono, Dominis Thoma de Mayngar', Petro de Arden', Roberto de Stokeport, Willelmo de Wistanton', Petricio de Haselwall', militibus, Roberto de Monte Alto, Radulfo de Monte Alto, Roberto de Hux', tunc Constabulario Castri Cestr', Hugone de Hatton', tunc vicecomite Cestresir', Willelmo de Hoton', Roberto de Pulle, Roberto de Bebinton', Bertramo de Moles, Willelmo*

de Prenton', Willelmo de Brex', Ricardo de Bruer', Patricio de Barton', Ricardo Starky, Alano de Lymm', Hugone de Bostok' et aliis." n.d. Three seals.

1422. Confirmation by Ralph, son of William Lancelin, of grants of the advowson of Bebinton to the Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester, by the said William, and his ancestors, Shyrard, once lord of Bebinton, Richard Lancelin, Robert, his son, and Robert, his grandson, father of William. "*Testibus Domino Reginaldo de Grey, tunc Justiciario Cestr', Dominis Thoma de Meyngar', Roberto de Stokeport, Willelmo de Wistanton', Patricio de Haselwall', militibus, Domino Radulfo de Monte alto, Roberto de Hux', tunc constabulario castri Cestr', Hugone de Hatton', tunc vicecomite Cestris', Hugone de Coron', Galfrido de Biron', Philippo de Benvil', Alexandro, fratre eius, Willelmo de Hoton', Roberto de Pulle, Roberto de Bebinton', Willelmo de Prenton', Willelmo de Brex', Ricardo de Bruer', Patricio de Barton', et aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

1423. Grant and quitclaim by Robert de Huntyngton and Cristiana, his wife, to Philip de Pulford of land in Neubold. Mar. 22, 1311. Two seal fragments.

1424. Grant by Philip de Pulford to Robert de Pulford, kt., of land in Neubold iuxta Churchenhet. "*Hiis testibus domino Pacano Typetot', tunc Justiciario Cestr', Ricardo de foulishurst, tunc vicecomite Cestrisir', Willelmo de Boydel, Willelmo de Mulneton', David de Barton' et multis aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

1425. Grant by Robert de Chedele, rector of Chedele, and Robert de le heth, rector of Pulford, to John, son of Robert de Pulford, of the manors of Buyreton iuxta Salghton, Pulford and Claverton, a fourth part of the manor of Chollegh, an eighth part of the manor of Broxon, and lands, etc., in Midil-aldyrsey, Crukardersey and Cawarthin, and the advowson of Pulford. "*Hiis testibus domino Willelmo de Clinton, tunc Justiciario Cestr', Willelmo de Prayeres, tunc vicecomite Cestr', David de egerton, Roberto filio Willelmi de huxlegh, Willelmo de Mulenton', Willelmo de coton', Roberto de hawarden, Johanne filio Ricardi de Golbron', Willelmo clerico et aliis.*" n.d. xvith cent. copy. "*The Riginalis of these copies Remayneth in the tresour' & kepyng of Catryn Wynynton.*"

1426. Grant by John de Bechinton and Agnes, his wife, to Peter del Brom, chaplain, of the manor of Lytil Storton. July 29, 1325.

1427. Grant by William de Stanley to William, his son, of the manor of Stanley. June 24, 1362. Seal, worn.

1428. Indenture of lease by Elena le Wayte to John de Bebynton, chaplain, for a "*rosam rubeam,*" of a messuage in Nethirbebynton. Sept. 24, 1375. Seal.

1429. Deed of exchange between William de Stanley, kt., and Robert, son of Robert de Baumvylle of lands in Haseldene in Becheton and Moreton in Wyrehale for lands in Storeton. May 10, 1404. Seal.

1430. Indenture of grant by William Stanley of Hoton, kt., son of William Stanley of Hoton, kt., and of Agnes, his wife, a daughter of Robert Grosvenour, to Peter Dutton and Alexander Radclyff, knights, Andrew Barton, John Glegg the elder, Richard Grosvenour and many others, of the manors of Sturton, Hoton and Roveacre, and of lands, etc., in Sturton, Hoton, Roveacre, Molynton Banestre, Donnam Mascy, Netherpeuer, Lostok, Chirchenhethe, Newbold and Chester, in the county of Cheshire, and the manor of Stanley (co. Stafford), to the use of the said William and his heirs in accordance with his father's will. Oct. 13, 1523. Seal, worn.

1431. Grant at the special request of William Stanley of Hoton, kt., by Peter Dotton, kt., Alexander Radclyff, kt., Andrew Barton, esq., Richard Gravenour, esq., and others, to Peter Stanley, younger son of William, of lands in Little Storton and in Great Storton. May 26, 1528. Eleven seals and fragments.

1432. Indenture of lease by Sir Rowland Stanley of Hooton, kt., and William Stanley, his son, to William ffernyhalghe of Stanley (co. Stafford) of lands in Stanley. Mar. 26, 1571. Seal fragment. (Eng.)

1433. Indenture of lease by Sir Rowland Stanley of Hooton, kt., to John ffernyhalghe of ffernyhalghe (co. Stafford) of lands in Stanley. Dec. 14, 1585. Seal, worn. (Eng.)

1434. Quitclaim by John ffearnorh' of ffearnihaugh (co. Stafford) to Roland Stanley of Hooton, kt., of rights to the manor of Stanley. Mar. 31, 1580. Seal fragment.

1435. Receipt by Mary Stanley, daughter of Sir William Stanley, to Sir Rowland Stanley of Hooton, Bt. Apr. 30, 1685.

STORETON, etc. (co. Chester).

1436-1448. A box, with a label *Sl. Great & Little Storton, &c.*, contains the following deeds:

1436. Confirmation by H(ugh), Earl of Chester, of the gift made by Robert Salvage to the abbey of St. Werburgh of a bovate of land which Wulfric held in Storton. "*Testibus Ricardo de luuetot, Radulfo filio Warini, Rogero de liuet, Frunbaldo, Roberto filio Gileberti, Hugone de Bosdel, Willelmo, capellano Comitis, et multis aliis, in Camera Abbatis Cestr' apud Cestram.*" n.d. Large fragment of seal.

1437. Indenture of lease by Hugh, son of Adam de Pennesby, to Adam, his father, of land in Pennesby. "*Hiis testibus domino Patricio de Haselewall', milite, Rogero Dunvile, Jacobo de Pull', tunc vicecomite Cestresyr', Hugone de Berneston', Willelmo de Lethon', Willelmo de Schoresworth, Willelmo capellano et aliis.*" (1294.) Seal.

1438. Grant by William de Stanlegh and Johanna, his wife, to Adam, their son, of lands, etc., in Storton. Jan. 28, 1317/8. Two seal fragments.

1439. Surrender by Cecily, widow of John de Norreys, to William de Stanlegh, of dower lands in Mikelstorton and Lytelstorton. Feb. 9, 1373. Seal, imperfect. (French.)

1440. Powers of attorney from the same to Henry Coly to deliver seisin of the same. Feb. 9, 1373. Seal, worn. (French.)

1441. Record of the claims of William de Stanlegh the elder, for court leet, etc., for the manor of Storeton. (Jan. 13, 1377.)

1442. Writ to the sheriff of Cheshire concerning the complaint of William de Stanley the elder, Geoffrey de Perburn, and Alicia, his wife, against Robert de Bebynton. "*Teste Johanne de la Pole, Justiciario nostro Cestr' apud Cestr', xxx die Maii anno regni nostri quarto.*" (1381.)

1443. Grant by William de Stanley, kt., to Gilbert Clegge, esq., and William del Croftes, chaplain, of the manors of Great Storeton and Little Storeton, and lands, etc., in the bailiwick of the forest of Wyrehall, etc. Nov. 3, 1411. Seal.

1444. Powers of attorney from the same to Thomas Wylde to deliver seisin of the same. Nov. 4, 1411. Seal.

1445. Quitclaim by John Glegge, son of Gilbert Glegge, to William Stanley, son of William Stanley the younger, kt., of rights in the manors of Great Storeton and Little Storeton and in the bailwick of the forest in the hundred of Wyrall. Feb. 23, 1430. Seal, worn.

1446. Quitclaim by Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, to John de Stanley, esq., of the same. June 26, 1436. Seal.

1447. Quitclaim by Thomas de Stanley, kt., to the same of the same. June 26, 1436. Seal.

1448. Quitclaim by Rauland de Stanley, esq., to the same of the same. June 26, 1436. Seal.

POULTON, WALLASEY (co. Chester).

1449-1451. A box, with a label *S2. Pulton & Kirby Walley*, contains the following:

1449. Grant and quitclaim by Henry Briht of Walleye to Philip de Banvile. "*Hiis testibus domino Patricio de heslewelle, Rogero dunvile, Willelmo le Wall' de hoton, Bertramo de mell', Willelmo de prenton', Henrico de bechinton', Alano Juvene, Willelmo clerico et aliis.*" n.d. Seal, worn.

1450. Bond of Robert de Walleye and Avicia, his wife, to Philip de Banvile. "*Hiis testibus Bertramo de mell', Willelmo le Wallense, Willelmo Lancelino, Willelmo de prenton', Henrico de bechinton', Alano Juvene, Willelmo clerico et aliis.*" n.d. Two seals.

1451. Grant by Richard Danissone of Liskark to Matthew, his son, of six selions in Pulton in Walay. "*Hiis testibus Johanne donville, Willelmo de Prenton', Willelmo le lasselis, Johanne le lasseles, Hugone de peneiby, Alexandro de Walay et aliis.*" n.d.

IRELAND, CHESHIRE, etc.

1452-1474. A box, with a label *S^r Rowland Stanley's Title to the advowson &c. of the par. Church of Bebington. Tl.*, contains the following miscellaneous deeds and papers :

1452. Grant by Margaret, widow of Hugh de Brumburgh, to Rauland de Stanley, esq., of lands in Brumburgh in the hundred of Wyrehale. May 1, 1418. Seal.

1453. Notes on selions lying near Eastham, etc. xvith cent. (Eng.)

1454. List of certain annual rent payments. xvith cent.

1455. Sale by Thomas Grene of Farnehill (co. Chester) to Sir Rowland Staneley of Hooton, kt., of the advowson of the church of Bebington. Feb. 1, 1571. Seal, worn. (Eng.)

1456. Petition of Rowland Stanley, kt., to Edmund, Archbishop of York, to admit Thomas Bennet, clerk, to be rector of Bebington in succession to the late Roger Seston, clerk. Apr. 6, 1571.

1457. Lease by Patrick, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, to Sir William Drury, kt., of the manor, castle, etc., of Lismore for sixty-one years. Oct. 8, 1576. Seal fragment. (Eng.)

1458. Copy of the above. Paper.

1459. Bond of Owen M'Meryertigh of Donygap and Hugh M'Meriertogh, late prior of Kylle in Kerry, to Sir William Stanleye, kt., sheriff of the county of Cork. Jan. 12, 1583/4. (Eng.)

1460. Receipt from Anne Thickpenny, widow of John Thickpenny, to Sir William Stanley, kt., for a year's rent for the castle of Lismore, etc. May 16, 1584. (Eng.)

1461. The same for half year's rent. Nov. 30, 1584.

1462. The same for the same. June 10, 1585.

1463. The same for the same. Oct. —, 1585.

1464. The same for the same. May 13, 1586.

1465. Assignment by Sir William Stanley, kt., son of Sir Rowland Stanley of Hooton, kt., to John Egerton the younger of Olton (co. Chester), Thomas Bunburie of Stanney and John Poole, son of John Poole, of Poole, of the castle of Lismore, etc. Dec. 1, 1585. Copy. (Eng.)

1466. Letter from Peter Warberton, etc., relating to Sir William Stanley. July 5, 1587.

1467. Letter from Roger Wilbraham to Sir Rowland Staneley, kt., John Egerton, John Poole and Thomas Bunburye. Shrove Tuesday, 1587/8.

1468. Letter from Anne Thickpenny to Lady Stanley. Feb. 24, 1587/8.

1469. Petition of John Egerton of Oltowne (co. Chester) by his attorney Edward Glegg to the Lord Deputy and Council. n.d. (Eng.)

1470. Petition from the same to the same. (1587.) (Eng.)

1471. Answer of Sir Walter Ralegh, kt., by his attorney Andrew Colthurst to the bill of John Egerton. n.d. Copy. (Eng.)

1472. Reply of John Egerton to the above. n.d. Copy. (Eng.)

1473. Note recording goods left with Mr. Whyeth in Waterford. n.d., (Eng.)

1474. Letter from William Stanley to Lady Stanley, his mother, with a tailor's bill. n.d. xvith cent. (Eng.)

PENSBY, etc. (co. Chester).

1475-1481. A box, with a label *T3. Deeds relating to Title of Lands &c. in Pensbie in Wirral*, contains the following deeds :

1475. Quitclaim by William Chanu to Adam, son of Gregory, son of William de Raby. "*Hiis testibus Domino Patricio de hesilwelle, Domino Rogero Dunvile, Philippo de Beynvile, Roberto de Pulle, Gilberto salamone, Ada Chanu, Willelmo de prenton', Hugone de Berniston', Radulfo clerico cum aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

1476. Note on Penesby, with description "*Ista est billa Henr' Coli.*" n.d. xivth cent.

1477. Grant by John de Pennesby to Thomas Coly, vicar of Estham, and Richard de Vernoun, vicar of Brumburgh, of lands, etc., in Pennesby, Thyngwall and Arwe. June 7, 1380. Seal, worn.

1478. Powers of attorney from the same to Robert Bychep to deliver seisin to the same. June 18, 1380. Seal, worn.

1479. Grant by Thomas Coly and Richard de Vernoun to Johanna, widow of William Glayne of Morton in Wyrhale, of the same for life with remainder to Thomas, son of Henry Coly, of Pulton Launcelyn. Jan. 20, 1384. Two seals.

1480. Grant by Richard, son of Thomas Coly, of Chester to William de Stanley of Hoton of lands in Pennesby and Thingwall. June 11, 1434. Seal, worn.

1481. Bond of William, Earl of Derby, to Rowland Stanley of Hooton, kt. Oct. 7, 1598.

KIRKBY IN WALLEY OR WALLASEY (co. Chester).

1482-1491. A box, with a label *V. Kirkby in Waley*, contains the following deeds :

1482. Grant by Robert, son of Robert de Waley to Philip de Beynvile. "*Hiis testibus Dominis Goselino, tunc Justiciario Cestr', Petro de Ardren', Patricio de Heselewelle, militibus, Willelmo Lancelin, Roberto de Pulle, Bertramo de Melis, Roberto de Bebintun' et multis aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

1483. Grant by Philip de Baumvil to Agnes, his daughter. "*Hiis testibus Dominis Goselino, tunc Justiciario Cestr', Petro de Ardern', Patricio de Hasilwell, Willelmo Lancelyn, militibus, Roberto de Poull', Bertramo de Molis, Roberto de Bebynton' et multis aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

1484. Grant by the same to Elota, his daughter. n.d. Seal, worn.

1485. Grant by Robert de Aula to William, son of William, clerk (?), "*Hiis testibus Willelmo de Lascelis, Ricardo Sampson, Alexandro de Waley, Roberto de Werale, Willelmo Fox* (?), *Thoma de Secum et aliis.*" n.d. Seal fragment.

1486. Grant by Alice, widow of John, son of Cecilia de Nethirbebynton, to Robert le Bretoun, chaplain. Apr. 3, 1341. Seal, worn.

1487. Grant by Robert Le Bretoun, chaplain, to Alice, widow of John, son of Cecilia de Nethirbebinton, for life, with remainder to William de Staneley. Apr. 11, 1341. Seal, worn.

1488. Conditions of grant made by John Dobbessone of le Meeles to William de Eccles, priest, of lands in le Meeles. n.d. Seal. (French.)

1489. Quitclaim by Richard Sampson, son of Henry Sampson, to William de Stanley the elder. Jan. 13, 1358. Seal, worn.

1490. Quitclaim by Avilla, widow of Henry Sampson, to William de Stanley. Mar. 12, 1366. Seal.

1491. Deed of exchange between William de Stanley and Agnes de Bechynton, widow of Henry de Bykirstaht. Oct. 18, 1369. Seal, worn. (French.)

PRESTON (co. Lancaster).

1492-1521. A box, with a label *Writings &c. relating to the Tnsp of Preston. W*, contains the following deeds:

1492. Grant by Henry, son of Roger de Preston, to Adam le quiteknicte of the same. "*Hiis testibus Roberto filio Ade, Roberto filio Rogeri, tunc Ball' de Preston', Rogero filio Ade, Roberto forestario, Ada filio Radulphi, Ada de lanc', Galfrido filio Rogeri, Roberto filio Willelmi, Ada de bur', clerico, et aliis.*" n.d.

1493. Quitclaim by Roger, son of Henry del Kirkestils of Preston, to John de Burgh of Fiswyke. "*Hiis testibus Rogero de Ethelestona, Henrico Banaster de Prestona, Willelmo filio Nicholai de eadem, Ada filio Simonis de Fiswyke, Ricardo de Ribeltona, Ada de Bury et aliis.*" n.d.

1494. Grant by Ralph, son of Walter Carpenter of Preston, to Robert, his brother, of a burgage in Preston. Jan. 26, 1324.

1495. Grant by Thomas, son of John Starky of Preston, to John de Derbeshire of Cophull. Apr. 22, 1335. Worn.

1496. Lease by John de Derbeshire of Coppull to Thomas Starky of Preston and Cecilia, his wife. Nov. 11, 1338. Worn. Seal, worn.

1497. Grant by Alexander de Prestwych to John de Derbeshire. May 4, 1348. Worn. Seal, imperfect.

1498. Final concord made in the Duchy court at Preston between John de Etheleston, plaintiff, and Adam de Depedale and Matilda, his wife. July 14, 1354.

1499. Grant by Adam, son of Hugh de Preston, to John de Eliston and Matilda, his wife. Nov. 4, 1360. Seal, worn.

1500. Lease by John de Etheleston to Adam, son of Hugh de Preston. Nov. 7, 1360.

1501. Quitclaim by Henry, son of Robert Watsone of Preston, to John de Etheleston. Feb. 7, 1361. Seal.

1502. Grant by William, son of John de Bayleigh, to the same. Mar. 17, 1361. Seal, worn.

1503. Grant by William de Burghe of Fisshewik to John de Etheliston and Matilda, his wife. May 26, 1362. Seal, worn.

1504. Grant by the same to the same. May 26, 1362. Seal, worn.

1505. Grant by William de Wygan of Preston to the same. Mar. 24, 1364. Seal, worn.

1506. Quitclaim by the same to the same. May 15, 1367. Seal.

1507. Quitclaim by Magot, widow of Robert Vattson of Preston, to John de Etheleston the elder. Jan. 2, 1368. Seal fragment.

1508. Quitclaim by Johanna, widow of William de Wygan of Preston, to John de Etheleston the elder, and Matilda, his wife. Apr. 2, 1373. Seal, worn.

1509. Grant by John de Ranynschay and Robert, son of Adam de Ettheliston, to Ralph de Ettheliston and William de Dodill' of a burgage. Apr. 23, 1373. Two seals.

1510. Powers of attorney from Ralph, son of John de Etheliston to William de Dodehill of Etheliston to deliver seisin to Henry de Preston, chaplain, and Grimbald le Taylour. Jan. 14, 1374.

1511. Grant by Ralph de Etheliston and William de Dodehill to the same. Jan. 16, 1374. Seal fragments.

1512. Grant by Henry de Preston, chaplain, and Grimbald de Yngoll to John de Dalton, chaplain, and Henry de Claghton, carpenter, of a burgage. Apr. 1, 1374. Seal fragment.

1513. Grant by Matilda, widow of John de Etheliston, to Henry, son of John Banastre of Walton, and Robert Dyring, chaplain, of a burgage. Nov. 6, 1379.

1514. Confirmation by the same of a grant by John de Dalton, chaplain, and Henry de Claghton to her and John, her husband, with remainder to Ralph, their son, and his heirs, and afterwards to Roger, brother of Ralph, and his heirs, dated Jan. 13, 1375. May 27, 1390. Seal, worn.

1515. Grant by the same to Ralph, her son. Mar. 8, 1394. Seal, worn.

1516. Quitclaim by the same to the same. Mar. 12, 1394. Seal, worn.

1517. Grant by Roger de Hacounshon to Thomas de Neuton, chaplain, and Edward de Whitacre, chaplain, of burgages, etc. Jan. 22, 1412. Seal.

1518. Indenture reciting various deeds delivered by Margaret, widow of Roger de Etheliston, to Lawrence de Standyssh. Aug. 24, 1424. Seal. The documents were:

(*a*) Indenture between Richard of Hoghton, kt., and Paulin, son of Lawrence de Wedacre, relating to rights in Grymesargh. May 10, 1329.

(*b*) Grant by William de Grymesarghe to Henry de Wedakyr of common pasture in Grymesarghe. n.d.

(*c*) Grant by John de Hakanesshawe to Roger de Etheliston, son of John de Etheliston. Sept. 26, 1368.

(*d*) Grant by Henry de Kerden of Rybblechestre to John, son of Geoffrey de Hakeneshone. Feb. 7 (?), 1355.

(*e*) Grant by William Lauson of Etheliston to John de Etheliston and Matilda, daughter of Henry Banastre, his wife, of lands, etc., in Etheliston, etc., for life. Nov. 29, 1351.

1519. Grant by William Haryngton of Westley, kt., to Thomas Parke of Preston. June 24, 1482.

1520. Grant by James Haryngton, kt., to Lawrence Page of Preston, draper. Feb. 8, 1492.

1521. Deed of feoffment from John Walton, Henry Errome and William Galt', chaplains, to Marjorie Page, widow of Lawrence Page. July 12, 1503. Seal and fragments.

PUDDINGTON, etc. (co. Chester).

1522. Inquisition at Northwich regarding the lands of the late Hamo Massy of Podyngton, namely the manors of Podyngton, Werford, and Shanewyk, lands in Merton, Bebynton, and Burton in Wyral, and half the manor of Coghul. May 7, 1450. In a small box, with a label *1Z. Manor of Podyngton &c.*

WOODCHURCH (co. Chester).

1523-1525. A box, with a label *Z3. Woodchurch*, contains the following deeds:

1523. Grant by John, son of Adam de Oxton, to Hugh, his son. "*Hiis testibus Johanne Dounvile, Willelmo de Prenton', Johanne de Warewyk, Hugone de Pennesby, Willelmo de Thingwall', Johanne de Newenston', capellano, et aliis.*" n.d.

1524. Grant by John, son of Hugh de Oxton, to Richard Brounsword and Johanna, his wife, and their heirs, with remainder to Henry Coly. Sept. 20, 1380. Seal.

1525. Quitclaim by William Lanton and Johanna, his wife, daughter of Avilla, daughter of Richard Brounsword, to William Stanley, esq. Apr. 27, 1453. Two seals.

PLIMYARD (par. Etchells, co. Chester).

1526-1532. A box, with a label *Dd : 24° Maii* 1613 *to J.M. the writtinges of Plimyard*, contains the following deeds :

1526. Grant by George Cotton of Warblington, co. Southampton, and Edward Cotton to John Shelley. Feb. 10, 1567. Two seals, worn.

1527. Sale by John Shelley of Michelgrove, co. Sussex, to William Huntington of Plymmyard in Wyrhall. Feb. 17, 1584. Seal. (Eng.)

1528. Quitclaim by the same to the same. Nov. 29, 1584. Seal. (Eng.)

1529. Revocation by William Huntington of uses, etc., made to Richard Huntington of Children Thorneton and others. July 23, 1589. Seal, worn. (Eng.)

1530. Bond of the same to Rowland Stanley of Hooton, kt. July 26, 1589. Two seals, one being the seal " *pro recognitione debitorum* " of Chester. Signatures of William Hammett, Mayor of Chester, and of Richard Birkhened, Recorder of Chester.

1531. Indenture of agreement between Sir Roland Stanley of Hooton, kt., and William Huntyngton. July 26, 1589. Seal, worn. (Eng.)

1532. Grant by William Huntyngton to John Stanley and Antony Male of the Manor of Plymyord and lands, etc., in Plymyord and Eastham. July 29, 1589. Seal.

ARROW (co. Chester).

1533. Grant by Alicia, daughter of Richard, son of Richard de Dudeston, to Hugh de Penisby. Mar. 2 (?), 1328/9. Seal.

ASTBURY (co. Chester).

1534. Powers of attorney from Thomas Bruse of Asteberi to William Stanle the younger to receive payment from Henry Small'. April 4, 1393.

BAGENHOLT (co. Chester).

1535. Permission to raise a mill-pond from William, son of William de Bagenholt, to William de Stanleye and Johanna, his wife. " *Hiis testibus Dominis Willelmo de Caresvalle, Willelmo de Nortona, militibus, Thoma de Badele, Ricardo de Stanloue, Adam Lekenge, Petro clerico et aliis.*" n.d. Seal, worn.

BEBINGTON, LOWER AND HIGHER (co. Chester). *See also* POULTON LANCELYN.

1536. Grant by Marjorie, daughter of Dike, of Lower Bebington, to Robert, son of Peter de Stanlowe, on his marriage with Agnes, her daughter. " *Hiis testibus Ranulpho Starki de Tranemol, Thoma Bernard' de eadem, Henrico Doun de eadem, Roberto Simound, Johanne fabro, Thoma Le carter', Madoko carpentario et aliis satis.*" n.d.

1537. Grant by Thomas Cocus of Lower Bebynton to the same, on his marriage with Agnes, his daughter. "*Hiis testibus Ranulpho Starky, Thoma Bernard', Roberto Symond, Roberto hed' (?), Johanne fabro et aliis satis.*" n.d.

1538. Final concord at Chester between Simon, abbot of Chester, and William Lancelyn, relating to the advowson of Bebinton, the grants of Shyrard and others. Sept. 13, 1272. Seal.

1539. Quitclaim by Robert de Bebyntone to Adam de Bebyntone and Agnes, his wife, sister of Robert. "*Hiis testibus Philippo de Baumvile, Willelmo Launcelino, Bertre' de Moles, Johanne Starky, Willelmo Walense, et multis aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

1540. Grant by William Lancelin, son of Robert Launcelin, to Richard, clerk, son of Alan de Waleya. "*Hiis testibus Hugone de Berneston', Bertramo de Moles, Patricio de Haselwalle, Roberto, filio Alani de Waleya, Willelmo Sampson, Bernardo Walense, et Henrico, fratre suo, Adam Starky et aliis.*" n.d.

1541. Sale and quitclaim by Richard Mascetras to William Lancelin, son of Robert Lancelin. "*Hiis testibus Willelmo Wall', Ricardo de Prenton, Bernardo Wall', Ada Starki, Henrico Wall' et multis aliis.*" n.d. Seal fragment.

1542. Confirmation of grant by William, son of William Launcell', to the church of St. Werburgh, Chester, of lands, etc., in Bebinton, Pulton and Bromburgh. Endorsed "*Me^d quod die martis proxima ante Purificationem beate virginis Anno domini m° cclxxx sexto in pleno Com' Cestr' coram domino Reginaldo de Grey tunc Justiciario ibidem et tota communitate Cestric' presente Willelmo Lancelyn et concedente lecta fuit ista carta et transcriptum eiusdem in rotulo qui vocatur domisday redactum.*" Seal.

1543. Grant by Robert de Bebynton, son of Randolph de Bebynton, to Robert, his son, and Margery, his wife. "*Hiis testibus Domino Reginaldo de Grey, tunc Justiciario Cestr', domino Ricardo de Mascy, Willelmo de Preers, tunc vicecomite Cestris', Jacobo de Pulle, Willelmo de Prenton', Willelmo de Stanley, Willelmo Wallenc' de Tranemore et aliis.*" n.d.

1544. Grant by William, son of William Launcelin, to William, son of Ralph Launcelin, of lands and rights in Nether Bebinton and Pulton. "*Hiis testibus Dominis Willelmo Trussel, tunc Justiciario Cestr', Hamone de Mascy, Patricio de Hasilwall', militibus, Alexandro de Benvile, Rogero Dounvile, Roberto de Bebinton', Willelmo de Stanley, Alano de Prenton', Willelmo de Lasell' & aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

1545. Grant by Henry, son of Richard, clerk of Bebinton, to Thomas, son of Robert Rosel, on his marriage with Marjorie, sister of Henry. "*Hiis testibus Patricio de Haselewalle, Philippo de Baumwile, Rogero de Doumwile, militibus, Alexandro de Baumwile, Roberto de Pulle, Roberto de Bebinton', Johanne Bernard' et multis aliis.*" n.d. Seal fragment.

1546. Quitclaim by John, lord of Werlustoun, to Robert de Bebyntoun. Aug. 15, 1303. Seal.

1547. Grant by William Launselin, lord of Pulton, to Adam le Barker of Neston. "*Hiis testibus Roberto de Bebington, Bernardo de Tranemol', Willelmo de Stanleg', Rogero de Thorniton', Johanne de Lasseliis, et satis aliis.*" n.d.

1548. Grant by Adam Le Barker of Neston to William de Thoneworthe, clerk, and Mary, his wife. "*Hiis testibus Rogero Dounvile, Roberto de Bebinton', Reginaldo de Pulle, Willelmo de Hoton', Willelmo de Lethon' et aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

1549. Grant by William Launcelyn, lord of Pulton, to the same. "*Hiis testibus Reginaldo de Pulle, Willelmo de Hoton', Willelmo de Stanleye, Roberto de Bebinton', Johanne de Becthon' et aliis.*" n.d.

1550. Grant by William, son of Robert de Bebynton, to the same. "*Hiis testibus Willelmo de Stanlye, Rogero Dounvile, Reginaldo de Pulle, Roberto de Bebynton', Willelmo de Hoton' et aliis.*" n.d. Seal, worn.

1551. Grant by William, son of William Launcelyn of Wirall, to William, son of Robert de Bebynton. "*Hiis testibus Domino Roberto de Holond, tunc Justiciario Cestr', Roberto de Bulkileg', tunc vicecomite Cestrisir', Dominis Johanne de Orreby, Hamone de Mascy, et Hugone de Venables, militibus, Willelmo de Hoton', Roberto de Bebynton', Hugone de Berluston', Willelmo de Lasceles et aliis.*" n.d. Seal, worn.

1552. Grant by William Launcelyn, lord of Pulton Launcelyn, to Robert Le Eyer of Lower Bebynton. "*Hiis testibus Alexandro de Baumvylle, Rogero Donvylle, Roberto de bebynton', Bernardo de Tranemoll', Willelmo Walys, Johanne de Bechynton', Willelmo de Lasseyls et aliis.*" n.d.

1553. Grant by the same to the same. n.d. Seal.

1554. Grant by William Lancelyn to Henry, son of William, son of Alan, of Little Bebi(n)ton. "*Hiis testibus Roberto, tunc decano Wiralle, Johanne de haslewalle, Hugone de corona, Roberto lancelino, henrico persona, alano de Walleya, Ricardo sampsone, Ricardo de prentona, Alano juniore cum multis aliis.*" n.d.

1555. Grant by John de Edenham and Felicia, his wife, to John, son of Agnes, daughter of Henry le Heyr of Bebynton. June 24, 1314. Seal fragments.

1556. Grant by Richard, son of William de Barue, to Robert Bercator of Lower Bebington. "*Hiis testibus domino Olivero Justiciario Cestr', Ricardo de Fouleshurst, vicecomite Cestr', Roberto de Bebington', Henrico Launcelin, Bernardo de Tranemol' et aliis.*" n.d. Seal, worn.

1557. Grant by Richard de Amboston, chaplain, to William Launcelyn of Bebynton and Avicia, his wife. July 24, 1322. Seal fragment.

1558. Quitclaim by Richard, son of William de Barwe, to Robert Bercar'. Aug. 23, 1325.

1559. Indenture of agreement between the same and the same. Sept. 22, 1325.

1560. Grant by Agnes, widow of Robert le Chepherde of Nether Bebington, to John, her son, and Johanna, daughter of Adam de Wyntertone. Mar. 14, 1330/1. Seal fragment.

1561. Grant by John de Merton, son of Ralph de Merton, to John de Bebynton, chaplain. "*Hiis testibus Johanne Dounvill', Willelmo de Stanley, Roberto le Baunvill', Willelmo Waleys, Henrico Bernard', Willelmo de Stanley, juniore, et aliis.*" n.d.

1562. Grant by John de Penr'th to John de Bebynton, chaplain. "*Hiis testibus Johanne de Downvile, Willelmo de Stanlegh', Roberto de Bebyntun, Roberto Bawmvill', Willelmo Wales, Henrico Bernard', Willelmo Lawnselyn et aliis.*" n.d. Seal fragment.

1563. Grant by Robert, son of Robert de Bebynton, to William de Stanlegh. Saturday, before the feast of St. Oswald, 11 Edw. III. Seal.

1564. Grant by the same to the same. May 8, 1337. Seal.

1565. Grant by the same to the same. May 8, 1337.

1566. Grant by the same to John de Bebinton, chaplain. Jan. 5, 1340/1. Seal fragment.

1567. Grant by Robert le Eyre of Netherbebynton to Hugh, son of Richard de Raby, and Katherine, his wife. June 29, 1343. Seal, worn.

1568. Grant and confirmation by the same to the same of a messuage and land held by Thomas le Carter and Juliana, his wife, as dower of Juliana, after the death of Juliana. June 29, 1343.

1569. Quitclaim by James, son of Robert le heir of Netherbebynton, to Hugh, son of Richard de Raby. July 13, 1343.

1570. Grant by Robert de Bebynton to Francis de Causton, parson of the church of Stoke, and Thomas de Hopewell, chaplain. Dec. 16, 1344. Seal, worn.

1571. Grant by Francis de Causton, parson of the church of Stoke, and Thomas de Hopewell, chaplain, to Robert de Bebynton and Johanna, his wife, daughter of William de Hoton. Dec. 22, 1344.

1572. Grant by William, son of William le Smyth of Bebynton, to Robert le Smyth of Gayton. June 1, 1357. Seal, worn.

1573. Grant by William Lancelyn of Pulton to Adam, son of Robert de Merburri, and Agnes, his wife. "*Hiis testibus Philippo de Banvile, Alexandro, fratre suo, Roberto de Bebinton', Hugone de Berniston', Willelmo de Waleton' de Tranemul, Adam de Penisby, Radulpho clerico et aliis.*" n.d.

1574. Grant by Henry Broun of Tranemoll to Thomas, son of Thomas de Bacford. July 11, 1367. Injured. Seal.

1575. Grant by Thomas de Bacford of Bebynton to Ellen le Wayte and Nicholas de Stanlegh, bastard, with remainder to William de Stanlegh the elder. Feb. 25, 1375. Seal.

1576. Grant by John de Bebynton, chaplain, to the same. Sept. 21, 1375. Seal.

1577. Release by William, son of William, son of John de Stanley, to Richard Launcelyn. Mar. 14, 1380. (French.)

1578. Grant by Thomas de Bacford to John de Bacford, his son, of rents, etc., in Nethirbebyngton and Acton iuxta Weverham. Nov. 30, 1384. Seal, worn.

1579. Quitclaim by Thomas le Wright of Raby, staying at Chester, to William, son of Robert de Neuton, staying at Netherbebynton. Dec. 21, 1395. Seal, imperfect.

1580. Quitclaim by the same to the same. Dec. 21, 1395. Seal, worn.

1581. Powers of attorney from William, son of Robert de Neuton of Lower Bebynton, to Robert Hopkynson of Hoton or Thomas Wylde to deliver seisin to Mr. John de Bakford, clerk, and John Spencer, vicar of the church of Bakford. Sept. 16, 1408. Seal.

1582. Grant by Mr. John de Bakford, clerk, and John Spencer, vicar of Bakford, to William, son of Robert de Neuton, and Alicia, his wife, with remainder to William de Stanley, kt. Sept. 19, 1408. Two seals.

1583. Counterpart of the same. Sept. 19, 1408. Two seals.

1584. Grant by William, son of Robert de Neuton, to John Spenser, vicar of Bacford, of lands, etc., in Netherbebynton and Acton iuxta Weverham. Dec. 29, 1415. Seal.

1585. Grant by John Spenser, vicar of Bacford, to William, son of Robert de Neuton, and Alicia, his wife. Jan. 6, 1416. Seal, imperfect.

1586. Counterpart of the same. Jan. 6, 1416. Seal.

1587. Bond of Thomas Grene of Farnehill, co. Chester, to Roland Stanley of Hooton, kt. Feb. 1, 1571. Seal, worn.

1588. Grant by Luke Gylpyn, parson of Bebington, to Sir Rowland Stanley, kt., of tithes of Sturton. Aug. 6, 1575. (Eng.)

1589. Note of information supplied by Henry Macklin, a tenant of Mr. Dutton, on various points. n.d. (Eng.)

BIDSTON (co. Chester).

1590. Appointment by Thomas, Earl of Derby, Lord Stanley, and Lord of Man and the Isles, of William Stanley to be steward of the manors of Bidston and Neston. Nov. 26, 1508. Fragment of seal, and signature.

BRADLEY (co. Chester).

1591. Grant by Robert del Greue to Richard, son of Hugh de Standysshe, and his heirs male, of the manors of Bradelegh and Hepay, also of lands, etc., in Standysshe, Worthynton, Dokesbury, Hethechernock, Wygan and Hendelegh, also of the homage, rents and services of Adam de Shakurley

for lands in Hepay, of the same of Roger, son of William, and of the same of Richard Pyndekowe of lands in Dokesbury, and also of the reversion of the lands in Hyndelegh, held for life by Adam de Culcheth, with remainder of all the above to William, son of John de Stanley and his heirs male, with remainder to the right heirs of the said Richard, son of Hugh de Standysshe. Feb. 5, 1336. Seal.

BROMBOROUGH (co. Chester).

1592. Grant by Ralph, son of Robert, to William, son of Gilbert, his nephew. "*Testibus Joceramo de Hellesby, Ricardo de Kingesleh', Roberto Lancelin, Henrico de Moles, Ricardo Walense, Rogero, persona de Estham, Henrico, persona de Bebintona, Reginaldo de Pulla, Rauen (?) de Brumburh' et multis aliis.*" n.d. Worn.

1593. Grant by Richard, son of John, son of Robert de Bromeburgh, to (Robert de) Ilkeston, chaplain, who is to pay five shillings annually to the monastery of St. Werburgh, Chester. May 7, 1367. Much injured. Seal, worn.

1594. Grant by Robert de Hilkyston, chaplain, to Ralph de Derlaston, chaplain. Feb. 5, 1375.

1595. Grant by Ralph de Derlaston, chaplain, to John le Archer, chaplain, David de Gorstillowe, Richard le Walsch, John Fiche and Robert Bletherwike. Feb. 15, 1375. Seal.

1596. Grant by Henry Philip to Richard de Vernon, chaplain. June 19, 1383. Seal.

1597. Grant by the same to the same. June 19, 1383. Seal.

1598. Confirmation by Alice, daughter and heir of Henry Philip, of the above grant. Mar. 26, 1386. Seal.

1599. Grant by Richard de Vernon, chaplain, to William, son of William de Stanley, kt. May 9, 1407. Seal.

1600. Release and quitclaim by the same to the same. May 9, 1407. Seal.

1601. Powers of attorney from the same to Thomas de Skipton, vicar of the church of Estham, to deliver seisin to the same. May 9, 1407. Seal.

1602. Grant by Hugh, son of Richard de Brumburgh, to William, son of William de Stanley, kt. Sept. 26, 1407. Seal.

1603. Release and quitclaim by the same to the same. Sept. 26, 1407. Seal.

1604. Grant by the same to William de Stanley, kt. Feb. 11, 1412.

1605. Notes relating to proceedings between Rowland Stanley, kt., on the one part, and Richard Bavand and others.

BURTON (co. Chester).

1606. Grant and quitclaim by Robert, son of Hugh de Pulford, and Johanna, his wife, to Ralph, son of Richard de le Heet. "*Hiis testibus domino Willelmo Trussel, tunc Justiciario Cestr', dominis Johanne de Ardene, Ricardo de Massy, Johanne de Boydel, militibus, Roberto de Bressi, tunc vicecomite Cestirsir', Rogero de Sporstowe, Roberto de Belewe et multis aliis.*" (32 Edw. I.)

1607. Grant by John de Ardene, kt., to Robert de Pulford, arising out of an agreement between the ancestors of the former, tenants of the manor of Aldeford, and the ancestors of the latter, tenants of the manor of Buyrton. May 9, 1308. Seal.

1608. Copy of the same.

1609. Indenture between Sir Rowland Stanley of Hooton, kt., and William Stanley, esq., his son, of the one part, and John Massie of Coddington, esq., of the other part. July 15, 1575. Seal, worn. (Eng.)

1610. Ruling relative to the dispute between Sir Roland Stanley, kt., plaintiff, and Edward Fitton, esq., Thomas Johnson, clerk, and Thomas Gill, defendants. Apr. 23, 1612. (Eng.)

1611. Quitclaim by William Cartwright of Creswell (co. Stafford) and John Pakeman of Newton (co. Stafford) to Sir William Stanley of Hooton, Bt., of all the manors, etc., in Buerton, alias Chor(l)ton, Molington, Bebington, and Chorlton, Woodchurch, West Kirby, Kirby Walley alias Wallesey, Meoles, Moreton, Thingall, Brumborrow, Saughall, Hooton, Stourtone, Eastham, Plymyard, Peansbyes, Upton, Childerthornton, Lanceline, Woodbanke, Roughshotwicke, the rectory of Bebington and the right of patronage of the vicarage of Eastham. Apr. 1, 1664. Two seals. (Eng.)

CHESTER (co. Chester).

1612. Grant by Stephen de Bloxton and Simon de monialibus (?), chaplains, to Thomas de Dancastre and Johanne, his wife. "*Hiis testibus Johanne Blound', tunc maiore Cestrie, Roberto de Bebyntoun, Ricardo Bruyn, Ricardo Brueys, Alano de Wethele, Henrico de Hotonii (sic) et aliis. Datum apud Cestriam quarto die martis anno Regni Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum vicesimo quarto.*" Seal fragments.

1613. Final concord between David, son of David, of the one part, and Hugh de Coton, William Glaskynyon and Hugh del Halgh, chaplains, relating to the manors of Egerton and Wiche (?) and lands etc. in Bykerton, Malpas, Childelowe, Chester and Hole. Stained. Jan. 9 (?), 1358.

1614. Indenture between Thomas de Neuport, abbot of the house of St. Werburgh of Chester, of the one part, and William, son of William, son of John de Stanley, of the other part, relating to the forest of the Wirhale, and Overpull, Sutton magna, Whiteby, Croghton, Chorleton, Lee, parva Salghall, Childerthornton, Knoctorum and Wodechirche. Sept. 29, 1377. (French.)

1615. Grant by Robert Gerves to John, his son, of goods and chattels in the county of Chester. Jan. 15, 1402. Seal.

1616. Grant by Roger Gray, chaplain, to William Croxton, bocher, citizen of Chester, and Alicia, his wife, of a messuage, etc., in Northgate-street, in the lane called Parsoneslone, etc. Jan. 27, 1419. Seal.

1617. Powers of attorney from Fr. Robert Botyller, prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, to Peter Stanley to recover from the executors of Thomas fflecchcr, late of Chester, certain goods and utensils delivered to him by Fr. William Helay, and now unjustly retained by the said executors. Feb. 23, 1444/5. Seal of the prior.

1618. Award of Thomas of Stanley, kt., "countrollour of the kynges house" in the dispute between Thomas, abbot of the monastery of St. Mary of the Vale Royal, and Rondulf of Wevere. Sept. 15, 1446. Seal fragment. (Eng.)

1619. Certificate by David fferrour, mayor of the city of Chester, that "*in presence of Thomas Cotyngham and John Chaumbour then Shirefs of the seid cite, John Sotheworth and Thomas Godefelowe, in the counsell hous atte the Pendice of Chestre, there came afore me one Isabell late wyf to Jankyn Richardson of litell Salghall and there she said as she shuld unsware afore god atte the dredefull day of dome that she sate undir one ffylot wyf of Richard Sharp when she was seke opon hir dethe bedde*, etc." Mar. 18, 1462. Sealed "*w^t^ the seall of thoffice of Mairalte of the seid cite.*" Seal, imperfect. (Eng.)

1620. Indenture between William Stanley of Hoton, the elder, and John Marchumley the elder, relating to the marriage of John, son of the latter, and Isabella, daughter of William. Dec. 20, 1465. (Eng.)

1621. Deed of partition of the lands, etc., once held by the late Margery Grosvenour, daughter of Robert Grosvenour, in Pulford and Lostok. May 10, 1474. Ten small seals.

1622. Lease by William Stanley of Hoton, the elder, to William Longton of Chester, draper, of a tenement in "le parsons lane." Feb. 6, 1478/9. Seal, worn.

1623. Surrender by John Fouler, chaplain, and Peter Crue to John Marchumley of lands, etc., in Cheshire. Mar. 20, 1496.

1624. Powers of attorney from William Stanley of Hoton, kt., to Edward Stanley, chaplain, to receive seisin of lands, etc., in Cheshire and Northamptonshire from William Stanley, his son. July 8, 1499. Seal.

1625. Lease by Thomas, abbot of the monastery of St. Werburgh, Chester, and the convent of the same, to Thomas Deane of Chester, barber, of a ferry boat with rights in Pulpull, etc. Never completed. No date, but *temp.* Henry VIII. (Eng.)

1626. License from Edward VI., King of England, to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Chester to alienate to Sir Richard

Cotton, kt., Comptroller of the King's Household, their manors and tenements in Huntingdon, otherwise Huntington, and Cheveley, their manors of Sutton in Wyrehall, Upton, Bromborowe, Irbie, Ince, Salghten, Barnshawe, Tilstone Farnehall and Boughton, co. Chester, the Long Meadow in the parish of Backford juxta Mostyn, lands, etc., in Wyrvyn, Croughton, Stamford, Kirstelton, otherwise Christleton, Chorleton, Lee, Mostyn, Saighall, Shotwicke, Crewe, Farneton, Bebington, Estham, Plymeyard, Irbye, Thurstanton, Greseby, Frankebie, Weskyrbie, Knoctoram, Woodchurche, Wallasey, Kirbie Walley, Ince, Elton, Thornton, Catenhall, Manley, Idencote, Hillisbye, Frodsham Bridge, Trafford, Plemstowe, Salghton, Huxley, Waverton, Codington, Barneshawe, Gostre, Lees, Grange, Sandbache, Chelford, Asthall, Presbury, Northwich, Hulse, Wynnington, Nether Tabley, Plombley, Budwurthe, Northerden, Farnehall, Tilston Farnhall, Moche Sutton, Little Sutton, Overpoole, Hulton, Thornton and Whitby in the county of Chester, the rectories of Sutton in Wyrehall, Prestbury, Great Neston, Little Neston and Wollaston, the vicarage of Prestbury, all manner of advowsons, donations, etc., of the rectory and churches of Christleton, Bebbington and Astbury, of the vicarage of Prestbury aforesaid, and of the rectory or church of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the Hill within the city of Chester, and also all fairs, markets, courts leet, view of frankpledge, etc., in Sutton in Wyrehall, Upton, Bromborowe, Irbie, Ince, Barnstone, Salghton, Tilston Farnhall, Boughton and St. Thomas Chapell, co. Chester, in return for an annual rent of £603 18s. 10d. May 14, 1553. Copy and translation only.

1627. Record of proceedings between the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral church of St. Mary, Chester, plaintiffs, and Sir Rowland Stanley and William Leche, defendants. Sept. 2, 1596. (Eng.)

CHILDER THORNTON (co. Chester).

1628. Grant by Simon de Aston to Richard, son of Matthew, smith of Childirthornton. Feb. 7, 1318/9.

1629. Grant by Henry de Hoton, lord of Hoton, to Hugh Drake and Emma, his wife. July 9, 1357. Seal, worn.

1630. Bond of Hugh Cholmondeley of Cholmondeley to William Stanley, kt. Oct. 10, 1543.

1631. Indenture of grant by Hugh Cholmondeley of Cholmondeley, kt., Richard Bavent, ironmonger, and William Mayo of Chester, to Rowland Stanley of Hoton. June 15, 1567. Seal fragment.

CHORLTON (co. Chester).

1632. Grant by William de Hatherton and Margery, his wife, to Master Adam de Staunford, archdeacon of Chester, of six bovates in Chorulton, namely two bovates which Robert de Blaken' held, along with Adam, his son, Roger, brother of Adam, Emma, their sister, "*cum tota sequela eorun-*

dem," etc. "*Hiis testibus Thoma de horreby, tunc iusticiario Cestr', Roberto patrik', Thoma le meynwarin, Vriano de sancto petro, Willelmo de Venablis, Willelmo de Massy, militibus, Ricardo de horreby, tunc camerario Cestr', Johanne de Wetenale, tunc constabulario castri Cestr', Roberto de bulkele, tunc vicecomite Cestrecyrie, Willelmo Walens' de hoton', Philippo de baunvil, Willelmo launcelyn, Roberto de polle, Radulpho de hellisby, Ricardo payn, Galfrido de t'uen', Rogero clerico et multis aliis.*" n.d. Two seals.

1633. Grant by Thomas, lord of Crue, son of Thomas de Crue, to Adam de Hoton. "*Hiis testibus Domino Reginaldo de Grey, tunc Justiciario Cestr', Dominis Ricardo de Mascy, Patricio de Haselwell', Hugone de Dutton', militibus, Willelmo de Stanleya, Roberto de Pulle, Henrico de Hoton', Jacobo de Pulle, Willelmo de Capenhurst, Willelmo Torand, Galfrido clerico et multis aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

1634. Grant by Adam de Hoton, son of Richard Walensis, to Agnes, wife of John le Bole, and Henry, her son, with remainder in certain circumstances to Adam, son of William de Stanlegh. "*Hiis testibus Ricardo de Mascy, Radulpho de Vernun, Johanne de Orreby, militibus, Fulcone de Moeles, Jacobo de Pulle, Willelmo de Capenhurst, Willelmo Torald, et aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

1635. Powers of attorney from Adam de Bacford to Hugh de Molinton, his kinsman, to deliver seisin to Thomas, son of John, son of Hugh. Dec. 5, 1307. Seal, very worn.

1636. Quitclaim by Adam, son of William de Bacford, to Thomas, son of John de Bacford. "*Hiis testibus Roberto de Bulkelegh, tunc vicecomite Cestrisir', Roberto de Bebinton', Ricardo le Broun, Rogero de Cochul, Ricardo Payn, Willelmo de Hoton', Rogero de Greves et aliis.*" n.d.

1637. Grant by Thomas, son of John de Bacford, to Henry Torond, son of John Torond. "*Hiis testibus Ricardo de Fouleshursth', tunc vicecomite Cestr', Roberto de Mascy de Sale, Willelmo de Hoton', Rogero de Coghull', Willelmo de Capenursth', Willelmo de Lascelys, Alexandro de Waley et aliis.*" n.d. Seal, imperfect.

1638. Grant by the same to the same. "*Hiis testibus domino Hugone de Audelegh', tunc Justiciario Cestr', Ricardo de Fouleshurst, tunc vicecomite Cestresir', Roberto de Bebinton', Rogero de Pulle, Rogero de Cochul, Jacobo de eadem, Willelmo de Lecton', Rogero de les greues, Ricardo Payn, Willelmo de Capinhurst et aliis.*" n.d. Seal fragment.

CLAVERTON (co. Chester).

1639. Lease by William Stanley of Hoton to Hugh Hurlton of Chester and Thomas Hurlton of Chester, draper. July 28, 1477.

1640. Indenture between Sir Rowland Stanley of Houltone, kt., and William Stanley, his son, of the one part, and Matthew Ellis of Handbridge, co. Chester, upon the other part, concerning lands, etc., in Claverton and Ecclestone, co. Chester. Apr. 1, 1570. Seal, worn. (Eng.)

CONGLETON (co. Chester).

1641. Sale by Sir Roland Standley of Hoton to Ralph Rowde of Bridgnorth, co. Salop. Jan. 21, 1559. Seal fragment. (Eng.)

EASTHAM (co. Chester).

1642. Grant by Richard Walensis to Iseude, his daughter by Avicia, his wife, of land held of the abbot and convent of St. Werburgh, Chester. "*Hiis testibus Ricardo de kingesl', Ada de hellesbi, Petro de frodesham, Toma de Banvill', Reginaldo de pulle, Ricardo de hellesbi, Alano de Waleia, et multis aliis.*" n.d.

1643. Sale by George Cotton of Warblyngton, son of the late Sir Richard Cotton, kt., to William Leche of Chester, mercer, of Estham wood. Nov. 15, 1566. Seal, worn. (Eng.)

1644. Grant by the same to Rowland Stanley of Hooton, kt. May 30, 1674. Copy.

1645. Sale by the same to the same. May 30, 1574. Copy. (Eng.)

1646. Quitclaim by William Leeche of Chester, vintner, to Rowland Stanley of Hooton, kt. Nov. 16, 1583. Seal.

1647. Assignment by George Cotton, Hugh Cholmeley, Thomas Leigh, Henry Manwaringe and Richard Hurleston to the same. Oct. 21, 1587. Three seals, worn.

1648. Various notes relative to the vicarage of Eastham, with note by Sir Richard Levinge. (Eng.)

1649. Quadripartite indenture between William Stanley of Hooton and Charlotte, his wife, of the first part, the Rt. Hon. Carill, Viscount Mollineux, and Sir William Gerrard of Bryn, Bt., of the second part, Roger Bradshagh of Halgh and Thomas Harden of Ditton, co. Lancaster, of the third part, and William Cartwright of Creswell, co. Stafford, and John Pakeman of Newton, co. Stafford, of the fourth part, relating to the marriage of the said William Stanley and Charlotte, his wife, and concerning the manors, etc., of Eastham, Hooton, Burton, Churton heath, Plymyard, Great Sturton and Little Sturton, and of lands, etc., in Hooton, Eastham, Burton, Churton heath, Plymyard, Great Sturton, Little Sturton, Upton, Mollington, Bebington, Chorlton, Woodchurch, Westkerby, Kerby Walley, Meoles, Moreton, Thorneton, Tranmore, Thingwall, Bromburgh and Saughall, of the advowsons of the churches of Eastham and Bebington and of the rectory and church of Upton, tithes, rights, etc., and free fishing of the Dee and Mersey, and also of the ferry over the Mersey at Eastham. May 13, 1657. (Eng.)

1650. Final concord between Roger Bradshagh and Thomas Harden, plaintiffs, and William Stanley and Charlotte, his wife, concerning the same. Oct. 5, 1657. (Eng.)

1651. Judgment in case of differences between Sir Rowland Stanley, Bt., and Mr. Deane Hogg. Signed "*Jo. Chesshyre.*" Apr. 5, 1695. (Eng.)

ELKESDON, OVER (co. Stafford).

1652. Grant by Simon de Eliston and Ellen, his wife, to Thomas, their son. "*Hiis testibus Hugone de Beverisford, Johanne suo filio, Adam Basset, Rectore ecclesie de Childerl'g, Simone, fratre suo, Benedicto de Boterdon', Rogero de Bagenald', Willelmo clerico et aliis.*" n.d.

1653. Grant by Thomas, son of Simon de Eliston, to John de Stanle. "*Hiis testibus Roberto, filio Willelmi de Chetelton', Hugone de Beveresford, Henrico del Couderey, Benedicto de Boterdon', Rogero de Bagenalt' et aliis.*" n.d.

FLINT.

1654. Grant by Adam de Hargreve, burgess of Flint, and Alice, his wife, to John de Helech. Oct. 2, 1373. Two seals, imperfect.

1655. Quitclaim by Adam Barcker and Hugh, son of Richard, burgess of Flint, to John de Helech of Flint. May 1, 1374. Two seals.

1656. Grant by Robert de Frankeby of Flint to Davy de Twysse and Margaret, his wife. May 7, 1374. Seal, imperfect.

1657. Lease by Isabella de Northern of Flint to John de Helegh. June 15, 1379. Seal fragment.

1658. Grant by Roger Leche, kt., mayor of the town of Flint, Gilbert de Salbury and Gilbert de Birchore, bailiffs of the same, to John de Helegh of half a burgage and a quarter-burgage in Masonstrete, etc. July 21, 1409. Fragment of town seal.

1659. Lease by Margaret, widow of Ithell ap Howell ap Tudur, to Esmond de Stanley and Katherine, his wife, of dower lands in Kilkene, Nannerch, Cayroys, Llanawergayn' and Moston, co. Flint. July 12, 1419. Two seals, imperfect. (French.)

FROCESTER, *see* QUEDGELEY.

FRODSHAM (co. Chester).

1660. Grant by William de Frodisham to William, son of Richard de Clifton. "*Hiis testibus Hugone de Dutton', Rogero de Chedle (militibus), Johanne de Thornham, tunc ballivo de Frodisham, Roberto filio Walteri, Johanne filio Walteri et multis aliis.*" n.d. Torn.

1661. Lease by Sir William Stanley of Hoton, kt., to William Huyton of Frodesham, of a burgage in Frodesham, etc. Oct. 24, 1499. Seal, worn. (Eng.)

HALTON (co. Chester).

1662. Grant by Robert de Weuerham to Robert de Quelok of Tranmoll. Jan. 13, 1391. Seal.

1663. Bond of the same to the same. Jan. 13, 1391. Seal.

1664. Court roll. One membrane. 15-22 Richard II.

1665. Court rolls. "*Curia Johannis Brome armigeri. . . .*" May 13 to Dec. 9, 1532, m. 1; "*Curia Johannis Brome militis. . . .*" Nov. 11, 1533 to Oct. 22, 1542, m. 1d. to m. 5d. Five skins.

HASELDEN (co. Chester).

1666. Grant by Richard de Haseldene, son of Adam de Becheton, and Isabella, his wife, to Benedict, son of Walter de Stanl', "*Hiis testibus Domino Reginaldo de Grey, tunc justiciario Cestr', domino Ricardo de Sondbache, milite, Johanne de Wethenal', Rogero de Daveneport, Radulfo de Morton', Thoma de Weloc, Ada de Bosco, Nicolao de Cherchel', Ranulfo de Astbur', Petro clerico et aliis.*" n.d. Two seals.

HOCKENHULL (co. Chester).

1667. Bond of James Hockenhull of Hockenhull to Roland Stanley, esq. Aug. 23, 1550.

HODSDEN (co. Northumberland).

1668. Lease by Sir Thomas Haggerston, Bt., of Haggerston, co. Durham, and Lady Jane Haggerston, his wife, to William Oagle of Linkhouse, co. Northumberland. May 15, 1678. (Eng.)

HOOTON (co. Chester).

1669. Grant by Henry de Hoton, son of William de Hoton, to Adam de Hoton, his uncle. "*Hiis testibus Roberto Le Grosvenur', tunc vicecomite Cestresir', Alexandro de Baumvile, Roberto de Pull', Willelmo de Stanleg', Hugone de Berlistona et aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

1670. Grant by Reginald, son of James de Pulle, to William, lord of Hoton. Oct. 28 (?), 1316. Seal.

1671. Bond of Richard de Capenhurst and Hugh Mavy to William de Hoton. July 14, 1320. Seal fragments.

1672. Agreement between Ralph Toront, vicar of the church of Boudon, of the one part, and Thomas de Lanton (?), vicar of the church of Estham, Robert de Thorneton, chaplains, and Henry de Hoton, of the other part. Jan 27 (?), 1351. (French.) Seal fragments.

1673. Agreement between William de Hoton and William de Stanlegh the elder relating to the marriage of William, son of the latter, and Margery, daughter of the former. Jan 10, 1376. (French.)

1674. Writ to the Chancellor of the County Palatine of Lancaster relating to the pardon of William de Stanley of Hoton in Wyrall, co. Chester, kt. June 23, 1 Henry (?).

1675. Letters of pardon from Henry (VI.), King of England, to William de Stanley of Hoton, esq., son of William Stanley, kt. Sept. 24, 1446. Fragment of Great Seal.

1676. Letters of pardon from the same to William de Stanley of Hoton the elder. Feb. 6, 1456. Fragment of Great Seal.

1677. Bond of John Marchomley the elder, Richard Larketon and John Goldeburne to Alicia, widow of William Stanley of Hoton, and William Stanley, her son. Mar. 11, 1465.

1678. Licence to marry for William Stanley of Hoton and Agnes Grosvenour. July 26, 1470. Seal of John, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, edges broken away.

1679. Bond of Thomas de Pulle, kt., Roger Launcelyn, John Meles and Thomas Dedwode to William Stanley of Hoton, kt. July 7, 1488.

1680. Agreement between Sir William Stanley of Hoton, kt., and Sir William Gruffith, kt., relating to the marriage of William, son of the former, and Grace, daughter of the latter. May 10, 1514. Seal. (Eng.)

1681. Rental of Sir Rowland Stanley, kt., in the collection of John Littler, his bailiff, of lands in Hooton, Estham, Pulton and Spittelle, Bebington, Meales, Woodchurche, Tranmoll', Childerthornton, Morton, Walezey, Thingwall, Bromboroughe, Stourton magna et parva, Bwerton, Woodbanke, Saughall, Mollington Banester, Shotwick Parkside, Pensby, Stanley (co. Stafford), and Upton. Aug. 24, 1592. Roll of three skins. (Eng.)

1682. Rental of the same for the hundred of Wirrall "*wth the names of the townes & villages therein.*" n.d. (Eng.)

1683. Bond of William Stanley of Hooton, esq., Thomas Hicket of Woodbanck, husbandman, and Roland Stanley of Sturton, husbandman, to Robert Davye of Mollington Bannester, yeoman. Sept. 9, 1612.

1684. Agreement between William Stanley of Hooton, esq., on the first part, Sir Richard Hussey of Triggion, co. Montgomery, and John Draycott of Paynsley, co. Stafford, on the second part, and John Poole of Poole, John Minshall of Minshall, Philip Draycott, son of the said John, and Thomas Wood of Hooton, yeoman, on the third part, relating to the marriage of the said William Stanley and Mary, his wife, daughter of the said John Draycott, and concerning the manors of Hooton, Estham, Buerton, Churton heath, Plymyarde, Great Sturton, Little Sturton and Pennesbyes, the advowsons of the vicarages of Estham, and of the rectories of Bebbington and Upton, lands in the above and elsewhere in Cheshire, the manor of Stanley, co. Stafford, etc. Feb. 1, 1628. (Eng.)

1685. Roll of the court baron of William Stanley, esq., for the manor of Hooton, held by the steward, William Partington, Oct. 21, 1652. Attached is :

1685*a*. An " estraite " of all the fines, etc., of the same. Nov. 21, 1649.

1685*b*. A similar document. May 6, 1652.

1686. Recognisance of William Stanley of Hooton, Bt., Thomas Glaseour of Lea, co. Chester, Ralph Morgell of Mostin, co. Chester, Thomas Orred of Hooton, and Robert Taylor of Hooton to William Stanley, Philip Stanley, Mary Stanley and Charlotte Stanley, children of Charlotte, late wife of the said William Stanley, Bt., and an executor of the will of Philippa, late lady of Morley and Mounteagle. Jan. 8, 1662/3.

1687. Quitclaim by Richard Brooke of Christleton to Sir William Stanley of Hooton, Bt. June 15, 1663. (Eng.)

1688. Receipt to Sir William Stanley, Bt., of £20 for the use of Roger Wilbraham. June 15, 1663. (Eng.)

1689. Letters of administration for Rouland Stanley, son and heir of the late Sir William Stanley, Bt. Apr. 14, 1675.

1690. Receipt of William Stanley, Philip Stanley and Mary Stanley for £2770 11s. 6d. from their brother, Sir Rowland Stanley, Bt., being of the money left them by the Rt. Hon. Philippa, Lady Morley, and by their sister, Charlotte Stanley. Apr. 30, 1685. (Eng.)

1691. Receipt of William Stanley and Philip Stanley for £1150 from the same. Apr. 30, 1685. (Eng.)

1692. Record of the court baron of Thomas Cholmondley, esq., and others, for the manor of Hooton. May 13, 1685. 2 ff., paper.

1693. Draft of opinions of G. Booth upon certain Stanley matters. May 29, 1685.

1694. Record of the court baron of Thomas Cholmondley and others for the manor of Hooton. Oct. 21, 1685. 2 ff., paper.

1695. Receipt of William Stanley for certain sums from Sir Rowland Stanley, Bt. Feb. 14, 1686/7.

1696. Record of the court baron at Hooton. Oct. 18, 1688.

1697. Record of the same. Apr. 27, 1693. 2 ff., paper.

1698. Record of the same. Nov. 16, 1693.

1699. Record of the same. Oct. 24, 1695.

1700. Record of the same. Nov. 2, 1698.

HORTON (co. Chester).

1701. Grant by John Crue of Wymbaldestraghford and Thomas Crue, his grandson, to William Stanley of Hoton, kt. Feb. 10, 1532.

1702. Powers of attorney from William Stanley of Hoton, kt., to Christopher Traghford of Briggetraghford, co. Chester, to receive seisin of lands in Horton. Feb. 10, 1532.

1703. Grant by John Crue of Wymbaldstrafforde to Cecilia, his daughter. July 26, 1538.

1704. Quitclaim by Rowland Crue of Chester, mercer, to Rowland Stanley, kt. Jan. 22, 1554. Seal, worn.

IRELAND.

1705. Letter from the Lord Deputy to the Sheriff of Waterford, etc. Sept. 2, 1587. (Eng.) Copy.

KIRKBY IN WALLEY (co. Chester).

1706. Grant for life by Robert Le Bretoun, chaplain, to Alicia, widow of John, son of Cecilia de Nethirbebinton, with remainder to William de Staneley. Apr. 11, 1341.

LONDON.

1707. Receipt of John Broker, citizen of London, from William de Stanley, kt. May 20, 1416. Seal, worn.

1708. Bond of William Stanley, kt., and Henry Byrtles to John Brokkele, citizen of London. Nov. 20, 1417.

MAN, ISLE OF.

1709. Extract from the records relating to Peel Castle and the Island for Michaelmas, 7 Hen. V (1419), rot. 26.

1710. Grant by Thomas, King of Man, Earl of Derby, etc., to Hugh, Bishop of Sodor, of churches, etc. May 8, 1514. List of churches, lands, etc. Large seal, imperfect.

MEOLSE (co. Chester).

1711. Final concord between William de Stanlegh, plaintiff, and Thomas de Congleton and Cecilia, his wife. Oct. 25, 1346.

1712. Grant by William Dobbessone of Great Meeles to William de Stanlegh. Nov. 6, 1346. Seal, very worn.

1713. Lease by William de Stanley to Henry le Clerk of Meles. May 21, 1374. Seal. (French.)

1714. Counterpart of the same. Seal.

MOLLINGTON BANASTRE (co. Chester).

1715. Final concord between Robert Banastre, plaintiff, and John Thorald and William Sorel. July 12, 1278. Early copy.

1716. Writ of assize of novel disseisin for Matthew Swetenham, chaplain, against Roger Stanley. Oct. 22, 2 Henry (?).

NESS (co. Chester).

1717. "*Schedule of deeds and writings delivered by Mr. Daniel Jackson to Thos. Stanley Massey, esq., for securing £2400 and Interest.*" It relates to deeds between 1688 and 1782. n.d.

1718. Ness Colliery Farm Accounts. Sept. 28, 1776, to Dec. 24, 1777. Five sheets.

NESTON (co. Chester).

1719. Grant by William, son of Hugh de Raby, to his wife, Ellen, sister of William de Deresbir', before their marriage. "*Hiis testibus Roberto de Dunvill', Johanne de Haselwell', Hugone de Corona, Alano de Waleya, Ricardo de Prenton', Bertramo de Moles, Willelmo de Hoton', Thoma de Capenhurst', et multis aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

NORTHWICH, etc. (co. Chester).

1720. Agreement between Alexander, son of Thomas le Banville, and John, son of Robert de Wyington, concerning lands in Northwyc', Wyington', Twenbrokes, "*hamel' de Wymincham,*" Lostokgrauham, Storton and Claytford. Apr. 10, 1334.

OXFORD.

1721. Writ of Henry (III) to the sheriff of Oxford, to deliver to William Stanley, the elder, kt., William Herryson Hobson of Hoton, co. Chester, "*nativum et fugitivum suum*," along with his chattels and "*tota sequela sua*," who fled from his land "*post coronacionem domini H. Regis, filii Regis Johannis.*" June 3 (1220).

PENSBY (co. Chester).

1722. Powers of attorney from Richard, son of Thomas Coly of Chester, to Henry Hobbeson to deliver seisin to William de Stanley of Hoton of lands in Pennesby and Thingwall. June 11, 1434. Seal, worn.

PLIMYARD (co. Chester).

1723. Indenture between James Glasier of Chester and John Knighte of London, relating to the manor of Plymiorde and the "territorie, towne and towneshippe of Estham." Aug. 29, 1581. (Eng.)

1724. Grant by Sir George Calveley, kt., George Cotton, Hugh Cholmeley, Thomas Leigh, Henry Manwareng, John Nuthall, and Richard Hurleston to William Huntington, yeoman. Feb. 18, 1584. Six seals.

1725. Indenture between William Huntington of Plymyard, gentleman, and Richard Huntington of Childerthornton, husbandman, his brother, of the one part, and Sir Roland Standley, kt., and Roland Standley, son of Sir William Standley, kt., of the other part. June 2, 1588. Seal. (Eng.)

1726. Indenture between Sir Roland Stanley of Hooton of the first part, William Huntyngton of Plymyorde of the second part, and John Stanley, younger brother of Sir Roland, and Antony Male of Entrye, co. Lancs., of the third part. July 24, 1589. Three seals, worn. (Eng.)

1727. Will of William Huntington of Plymiyard within the parish of Estham. July 24, 1591. Copy. (Eng.)

1728. Assignment by John Knight of London to John Stanley of Hooton. Sept. 25, 1591. (Eng.)

1729. Quittance from Rowland Huntington and Peter Whitheadd, executors of the will of William Huntington, to Sir Rowland Stanley. July 25, 1592. (Eng.)

1730. Grant by Roland Stanley of Hooton, kt., to Ralph Brereton of Shackledge, co. Chester, kt., Ralph Egerton of Ridley, co. Chester, Thomas Moston of Moston, co. Flint, Peter Moston of Delacre, co. Flint, and John Stanley of Hooton of lands, etc., in Plymyorde, Upton, Estham Wood, etc. Nov. 14, 1595. Seal fragment.

1731. Grant by Roland Stanley of Hooton, gentleman, to John Mynshall of Mynshall and John Poole of Tranmoll of lands, etc., in Plymyorde, Upton, Estham, etc. June 19, 1604. Seal.

1732. Agreement between the same and the same. June 19, 1604. Seal. (Eng.)

1733. Notes relating to Sir Roland Stanley and Robert Huntington. (Eng.)

POULTON LANCELYN (co. Chester). *See also* BEBINGTON.

1734. Feoffment by William, son of William Launcelyn, to William de Marchinton, cook, and Richard, son of Henry de Hoton. Nov. 22, 1314. Seal fragments.

1735. Grant by the same to the same. n.d. Seal fragment.

1736. Grant by the same to Richard, son of Henry of Hoton. "*Hiis testibus Domino Hugone de Audelegh', tunc Justiciario Cestr', Ricardo de ffoulishurst, tunc vicecomite Cestris', Thoma de Coroune, Roberto de Bebynton', Alano de Prenton' et aliis.*" n.d. Seal fragment.

1737. Grant by the same to the same. Mar. 25, 1315. Seal fragment.

1738. Lease by William de Hoton to Henry Launcelin. Oct. 23, 1327.

1739. Quitclaim by Henry, son of Robert Payn, of Pulton Launcelyn to Henry de Hoton. June 2, 1342. Seal fragment.

1740. Quittance by the same to the same for goods. June 2, 1342. Seal, very worn.

1741. Grant by Richard de Hoton to Richard, son of Philip, clerk of Pulton Launcelyn. Nov. 9, 1343. Seal fragment.

1742. Sale by William le Boydel, kt., to Robert de Ledesham, citizen of Chester, and Alicia, widow of Richard de Hoton, of the wardship, marriage and lands of William, son and heir of the said Richard. Mar. 1, 1344. Seal, imperfect.

1743. Grant by Thomas de Doncastre, citizen of Chester, to John, his son, of an annuity from rents in Pulton Launcelyn and Netherbebynton. Jan. 16, 1349. Seal, worn.

1744. Writ from Edward III to the sheriff of Cheshire to command Richard de Pulton Launcelyn to hand over lands, etc., in the above to Thomas, son of Thomas, son of William de Dancastre. Oct. 4, 1369.

1745. Writ from Edward III to the sheriff of Cheshire to deliver seisin to the same. Dec. 14, 1370.

1746. Grant by John Launcelyn to Richard de Vernon, chaplain, of lands in Pulton, Lower Bebynton, Meles parva, etc. Aug. 5, 1396. Seal fragment.

1747. Grant by William le Maynwaryng to Thomas Coly, vicar of St. Mary's, Estham. Feb. 3, 1398. Torn. Seal fragment.

1748. Powers of attorney from the same to Roger de Faryngton, rector of St. Andrew's, Bebynton, and John de Bebynton to deliver seisin to Thomas Coly. Feb. 3, 1398. Seal.

1749. Grant by John Hoppes, chaplain, to William de Stanlee, kt., of lands in Pulton Lanceleyn, le Spitelle, and Netherbebynton in the hundred of Werehall. Oct. 6, 1404. Seal, imperfect.

1750. Grant by Katherine, widow of Thomas de Doncastre, to William, son of William de Stanley, kt., of lands, etc. Mar. 9, 1405. Seal.

1751. Quitclaim by John de Cronton of Meoles parva and Alicia, his wife, widow of William Launcelyn, to John Launcelyn, son of William. Nov. 28, 1406. Two seals.

1752. Grant by Richard de Vernon, chaplain, to John Launcelyn, of lands, etc., in Pulton Launcelyn, Lower Bebynton and Meoles parva. Nov. 30, 1406. Seal.

1753. Deed of exchange from John, son of William Launcelyn, to William de Stanley, kt., and Margery, his wife. Dec. 26, 1406. Seal.

1754. Deed of exchange from William de Stanley, kt., and Margery, his wife, daughter of William de Hoton, to John, son of William Launcelyn. Dec. 26, 1406. Seal.

1755. Grant by William, son of William de Stanley, kt., to Edward de Hoghton, Edward de Southeworth and Robert Maderer of lands in Pulton Launcelyn, Bromburgh, and le Spitull. Aug. 7, 1432. Three seals.

1756. Indenture between the same and the same, relating to the same. Sept. 4, 1432. Three seals, imperfect.

PRESTON (co. Lancs.).

1757. Grant by the burgesses and "comunitas" of Preston to Geoffrey de Hakensawe of waste on Sycklingmore. July 11, 1333. Seal of Preston, good impression, slightly imperfect.

1758. Grant by Adam de Depedale and Matilda, his wife, to John de Etheleston. Apr. 21, 1354.

1759. Rental of Sir James Haryngton, kt., relating to Dynkley, Elliston, Haghton, Brokys Bonke, Preston, Bretherton, Ormyskyrke, Walton, Chorley, Blakerod, Turton, Hendeley, Westley, Penyngton, and Pulton. Nov. 11, 1494; also of tenements of his sister, Lady Esabell Harryngton, Nov. 11, 1498. Two skins.

1760. Rental of Sir James Haryngton, kt. n.d. (Eng.)

1761. Memorandum of rents received, and payments made, by William Barbour of Preston, for Sir William Haryngton. n.d. (Eng.)

QUEDGELEY, WHADDON AND FROCESTER (co. Gloucester).

1762. A roll, of two skins, headed: "*Copied oute of the bokes undrewritten at the comaundm^t of S^r Thomas Porter knight in whose custodie the same did remayne at his house of Neweworke and whoe for testimonye of the truth subscribed these presentes w^th his owne hand the xxvii^th of march* 1575, *viz. palme*

sonday the day and yere aforesayde." Extracts from Registers of the priors of Lanthony by Gloucester and other books relating to the tenure of Netheruge in Quedgeley by members of the Welshe family; "*Copia homagii Willelmi Welshe*"; and "*Copia advocacionis Capelle de Elmore Anthonio Kingston.*"

1763. Notes on deeds relating to the Welshe family and Netheruge, from 3 Edw. I to 3 Hen. VIII.

1764. "*A coppie of certayne Recordes concernyng the Tenure of Netherugge within the mannor of Quedgly in com. Glouc.*" 4 ff.

1765. Court roll of Queddisley. Oct. 26, 1574 to Apr. 7, 1580. Three skins.

1766. Court roll of Queddesley, Whaddon and Frowceter. Jan. 8, 1610 to Apr. 13, 1610. Three skins.

1767. Court roll of the same. Dec. 11, 1610 to Mar. 27, 1611. Three skins.

1768. Court roll of the same. Dec. 10, 1611 to Apr. 16, 1612. Two skins.

1769. Court roll of the same. Apr. 26, 1614 to Apr. 28, 1614. Two skins.

1770. Court roll of the same. Apr. 10, 1615 to Oct. 13, 1615. Three skins.

1771. Court roll of the same. Mar. 24, 1619 to Mar. 16, 1620. Three skins.

1772. Court roll of the same. Apr. 8, 1629 to Sept. 25, 1629. Two skins.

1773. Court roll of the same. Oct. 10, 1632 to Oct. 11, 1632. Two skins.

1774. Court roll of the same. May 6, 1639 to Oct. 21, 1640. Five skins.

RADWELL, etc. (co. Bedford).

1775. Bond of John, son of John de Radewell, to Mr. Henry de Blechelee, clerk. Jan. 8, 1322/3. Seal fragment.

1776. Bond of the same to the same. Feb. 8, 1323/4. Seal fragment.

1777. Grant by the same to Masters Henry and William de Blecchelegh, clerks, for life, of lands and rights in Radewell, Felmeresham, Herdewyke, Wodhull and Sharnebroke, together with the reversion of the dower which Gilbert de Stanbrugge and Beatrix, his wife, held as the dower of Beatrix. (Feb. 9, 1323/4), Mar. 12, 1323/4. Seal.

1778. Grant by the same to Mr. Henry de Blecchelegh, clerk, of the same and also the reversion of certain lands held for life by certain people, namely by Gilbert Clergys and Goditha, his wife, in Radewell, by William, son of Henry the miller, in Radewell and by Adam, son of William de Wodhull, in Felmeresham, and land held by John Spynk in Felmeresham for ten years. Mar. 12, 1324. Seal.

1779. Grant by the same to the same of goods and chattels in Radewell, Felmeresham, Herdewyk, Wodhull and Sharnebroke. Mar. 12, 1324. Seal, worn.

RINGEY OR RINGWAY (co. Chester).

1780. Petition to the Earl of Derby from Robert Chauntrell. Copy. (Eng.)

ROUACRE (co. Chester).

1781. Grant by Richard le Bruyn of Throghford and Margery, his wife, to Henry Torond, citizen of Chester. July 19, 1335. Two seals.

1782. Powers of attorney from Ralph, vicar of Boudon, to Matthew de Waleye to deliver seisin to William, son of Henry de Hoton, and Katherine, his wife, daughter of Henry Torant, of lands in Rouaker and Chorlton. Jan. 27, 1350. Seal fragment.

SAHAM (? Saughall, co. Chester).

1783. *Rann' Comes Cestr' Constabulario, Dapifero, Justiciario, Vicecomite et Omnibus Baronibus et fidelibus suis Ministris et Baillivis et Omnibus ad Quos presens Scriptum pervenerit Salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et presenti Carta mea confirmasse Willelmo filio Gerardi et heredibus suis Quattuor Bovatas terre in Saham in Wirhallia cum Omnibus pertinenciis suis et Ricardum et Siwardum qui terram illam tenuerunt cum eorum sequela tota quas Alanus de Tatton' et Petronilla uxor sua ei pro homagio suo dederunt et Carta sua confirmaverunt, faciendo predictis Alano et Petronille et eorum heredibus servicium annuum quod in eorum Cartis continetur quas ipse Willelmus de eis habere meruit. Hiis Testibus Philippo de Orreb' tunc Justiciario meo, Petro clerico meo, Johanne de pratell', Norm(anno) Pant', Willelmo de Haselwell, Alano de Waleia, Roberto Lancelin, Willelmo de Dunuilla, Roberto de pulle, Turstano Banastr', Hugone de Coron', Gileberto de Berneston', Hugone de Rabi, Matheo de Thorinton' Et Multis Aliis.* Large seal; a lion on a shield; edges broken.

SAUGHALL (co. Chester).

1784. Lease by Richard le Hurele to William, lord of Hoton, of lands in Sallechale iuxta Morton. "*Hiis testibus Roberto de Bebynton', Alano de Prenton', Hugone de Pennisby, Rogero de eadem, Willelmo de Lakene et aliis.*" n.d. Seal, very worn.

1785. Grant by the same to the same. "*Hiis testibus Reginaldo de Pulle, Davyd de Bunbur', Willelmo de Capenhurst', Johanne de eadem, Rod' de Hoton' et multis aliis.*" n.d. Seal fragment.

1786. Grant by Richard, son of William, son of Hugh de Chorleton of Little Salghale, to Henry Toront, citizen of Chester, and Agnes, his wife. Sept. 27, 1348. Seal, imperfect.

1787. Quitclaim by Thomas Carter of Great Salghale to William de Stanley of Hoton. June 12, 1451. Seal.

SHOTWICK, CHURCH (co. Chester).

1788. Quitclaim by John Dicon, son of Richard Dicon, to Richard de Hokenell. May 6, 1430. Seal, worn.

SHOTWICK, ROUGH (co. Chester).

1789. Quitclaim by William de Rowescotewyke and Agnes, his wife; to Adam Walensis of Hoton. "*Hiis testibus domino Guncelino de Badelesmar', tunc Justiciario Cestr', domino Roberto Banast', briano de sancto Petro, Patricio de Heselwelle, Ricardo de Mascy, tunc vicecomite Cestrisir', Philippo de Baanvilla, Alexandro de Banvilla, Willelmo Walensi de Hoton', Roberto de Pulle et multis aliis.*" n.d.

1790. Grant by Robert de Brascy to Adam de Hoton. "*Hiis testibus Domino Patricio de Hesilwelle, Domino Rogero dunvile, Hugone de Corona, Philippo de Banvile, Alexandro fratre suo, Willelmo de hoton', Roberto de pulle et aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

1791. Quitclaim by Hugh, son of John de Wodebanke, to William, son of Henry de Hoton. "*Hiis testibus Rogero de Genys, Willelmo de Capenhurst, Roberto Kenyan', Willelmo de Podynton', Ricardo de Rydlegh' et aliis.*" n.d.

1792. Grant by Margery, daughter of Stephen, clerk of Roweschotewike, to William, her son. n.d. Copy.

1793. Extract of plea between John Fox of Roghshotewyke and Thomas de Berneston, plaintiffs, and William de Hoton, defendant, before Thomas, Earl Marshal, at Bacford. Sept. 14, 1394.

1794. Lease by Richard de Prestlond to William de Stanley. Sept. 29, 1398.

1795. Grant by William de Stanley to Richard Prestlond. Mar. 9, 1400. Seal.

1796. Indenture of arbitration award between Roland Stanley, esq., and James Hokenhull, esq., made by Sir William Norres, kt., Robert Tatton, esq., Sir Philip Eggerton, kt., and John Mynshull, esq. Oct. 24, 1550. Two seals, worn. (Eng.)

STANLEY, etc. (co. Stafford).

1797. Quitclaim by William, son of William de Bakenholt, to Walter de Stanley. "*Hiis testibus Domino Roberto de Chetilton, Henrico filio suo, Rogero de Bakenolt, Ricardo de Stanlowe, Ricardo de Rodiard', Hugone Rege de Runale, Ada filio ipsius, et multis aliis.*" n.d. Seal, imperfect.

1798. Grant by William de Stanlegh to John de Stanlegh, his son, of the manors of Stanlegh and Over Elkeston, co. Stafford. Feb. 13, 1310.

1799. Grant by William de Stanlegh the elder, to William, his son, and Margery, daughter of William de Hoton. Jan. 14, 1376. Seal, worn.

1800. Grant by William de Stanley the younger to William, his son, of goods, etc., in Stanley and elsewhere in Staffordshire. Feb. 25, 1391.

1801. Grant by William de Stanley, kt., to William, his son, and Blanche, his wife. Feb. 8, 1403. Seal.

1802. Release by Blanche de Stanley, widow of William, son of William de Stanley, kt., to William de Stanley, her son, of the manor of Stanley, co. Stafford, and lands, etc., in le Flaskes in the hundred of Macclesfield, in Chorleton and in le Meeles in the hundred of Wyrehall. Dec. 18, 1424.

1803. Powers of attorney from William Stanley of Hoton to John Henrison to enter and deliver seisin of the manor of Stanley and of lands, etc., in Laurens Merston and Westthrop, co. Northampton, to Thomas Venables of Kynderton, Peter Dutton of Hatton, John Glegg of Garton, William Chauntrell, esquires, Thomas Trafforde and Matthew Swetnam, vicar of the church of Estham. May 10, 1513. Seal, very worn.

1804. Lease by William Stanley of Hooton and John Bradshaw of Cunsall, co. Stafford, to James Bradshaw, son of the said John, and John Barker of Newton, co. Stafford, of the manor of Stanley and of lands, etc., in Woodchurch, Westkerby, Kerby Wally, otherwise Wallazie, Molles, Morton, Thingewall, Brombrugh and Soughall, co. Chester. Oct. 12, 1652. (Eng.)

1805. Indenture between William Stanley of Hooton and John Bradshaw of Cunsall, of the one part, and Philip Dracott of Paynesley, co. Stafford, James Bradshaw, and John Barker, of the other part, concerning the same and the manor of Buerton, otherwise Burton, and Churchton Heathe, co. Chester. Oct. 13, 1652. (Eng.).

1806. Quittance by Richard Draycott of Paynesley to Thomas Fernihaugh of Stanley. Aug. 18, 1660. (Eng.)

STORETON (co. Chester).

1807. *R(anulphus) Comes Cestr' Constabulario et dapifero et omnibus baronibus suis et hominibus et amicis francis et anglis et Walensibus salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse Alano Silvestri meo homini et ministro stortunam et pudican in feudo et hereditate sibi et suis heredibus pro suo seruicio scilicet pro dimidio milite, et volo et precipio quod supradictas villas habeat et teneat cum omnibus adiacentibus in bosco et in plano et utrique libere et honorifice et quiete. T. Willelmo de Romara, Willelmo de p(er)ci, Ricardo de haia, Willelmo constabloe* (? constabulario), *W. Monaco, Roberto greuesac, Roberto de treueres, Serlone Venatore, Willelmo meschin de romara, Gaufrido dispensatore, Berigo* (sic) *falcunario, Rogero de uerdun', Spilemanno camerario, Ricardo pincerna, Philippo camerario, Adam de praheres, Hugone filio Anschetil, Roberto filio Walteri, Willelmo pincerna, Johanne clerico qui hanc cartam fecit ad cestriam precepto comitis.* n.d. Large seal of the Earl.

1808. Grant by Johanna de Stortona, at one time wife of Richard de Kyngesleya, to Johanna, daughter of Richard le Sauvage. "*Hiis testibus Domino Thoma de Meynwar', Domino Ricardo de Wylburham, Domino Rogero*

de Dovnvile, Hugone le Coroune, Alano de Limma, Bertramo de le molis, Willelmo Walensis, Roberto de Pulle, Johanne de Mereburi, Rogero de Nortwych', clerico, et multis aliis." n.d. Seal.

1809. Lease by Agnes, widow of William de Schouresworth, to William de Stanleg'. "*Hiis testibus Alexandro de Baunvile, Willelmo Lancelyn de pultona, Jacobo de pulle, Hugone de Berlistona, Roberto de Bebyntona, Henrico de Hotona, Waltero de Thorpleg', clerico, et aliis.*" Sept. 29, 1295.

1810. Lease by Robert Dovnvile, son of Robert, lord of Dovnvile, to Alexander de Baunvile and Roisia, his wife. May 29, 1300. Seal, worn.

1811. Grant by Ralph, son of William de Northwyco, and Sibilla, his wife, to Alexandro de Baunvile and Reysia, his wife. "*Hiis testibus dominis Ricardo de Mascy, Ricardo de Sandbache, militibus, Willelmo Launcelyn, Willelmo Gerard, Hugone de Thorneton', Hugone del Brom, Willelmo de Capenhurst' et aliis.*" n.d. Two seals.

1812. Final concord between Adam de Stanlegh, plaintiff, and William de Stanlegh and Johanna, his wife. Jan. 10, 1318.

1813. Grant by Peter del Brom, chaplain, to John de Bechinton and Agnes, his wife. Aug. 2, 1325.

1814. Grant by Simon, son of John de Bechynton, to Hawisia, daughter of Roger de Greues, of rents, etc., in le Greues, Storton and Bebynton. Jan. 15, 1330.

1815. Lease by William de Bechinton to William, son of John de Stanley. "*Par iceux tesmoignez Henr' de Hoton', Rondulf le Bruyn, Robert de Berneston' et aliis.*" n.d. Seal fragment. (French.)

1816. Lease by Johanna de Baunvile to William de Stanleye. Sept. 21, 1333. Seal, worn.

1817. Grant by John, son of Robert de Wynynton, to Alexander, son of Thomas de Baunville, of lands, etc., in Storton and Cleyteford. Jan. 10, 1334/5. Seal fragment.

1818. Lease by Ellen, widow of William de Laken, to William de Stanlegh. May 15, 1334.

1819. Deed of exchange between William, son of Gilbert de Potynton, and William de Stanlegh. Aug. 28, 1340. Seal fragment.

1820. Grant by William de Stanlegh to Adam de Stanlegh. Apr. 23, 1343. Seal, worn.

1821. Lease by Adam de Haregreue to William de Stanley. Sept. 30, 1353. Seal.

1822. Lease by Avilla, daughter of Philip de Bechynton, to Henry de Lythirlond. July 25, 1367. Seal fragment.

1823. Receipt for dower from Cecily, widow of Richard de Bechinton, to William de Stanley the elder. Feb. 24, 1396. (French.)

1824. Lease by Alicia, daughter of William de Laken of Storton, to William, son of William de Stanley, kt. Sept. 5, 1407. Seal.

1825. Counterpart of the same. Seal.

1826. Grant by Alicia, widow of Thomas de Clotton, daughter and heiress of William de Laken the younger, son and heir of Ellen de Laken, one of the daughters of Philip de Baumvill, to William de Stanley, kt. May 12, 1410. Seal.

1827. Grant in exchange by William de Stanley, kt., to Thomas de Bolde and Agnes, his wife, daughter of Thomas de Lasselles, of lands in Lower Bebynton for lands in Storton. Oct. 4, 1410. Two seals.

1828. Grant in exchange by Thomas de Bolde and Agnes, his wife, to William de Stanley, kt. Oct. 4, 1410. Two seals.

1829. Lease by William Stanley of Hooton to Elizabeth Judson of Brimstage, co. Chester, widow. Apr. 24, 1640. Copy. (Eng.)

1830. Sale by Elizabeth Judson of Storeton to John Judson of Geaton, co. Chester. Nov. 20, 1661. (Eng.).

1831. Letters of administration granted to Henry Judson, son of the late John Judson of Storeton. Dec. 15, 1692.

1832. Assignment of lease by Henry Judson to Sir Rowland Stanley of Hooton, Bt. Dec. 16, 1692. (Eng.)

1833. Bond of the same to the same. Dec. 16, 1692.

1834. Consent to the above by Hannah, Elizabeth, Rebecca, Martha and Alice, daughters of the late John Judson. Dec. 16, 1692. (Eng.)

STRETTON (co. Stafford).

1835. Grant by Roger de Caeureswelle to Walter de Elmedon, parson of the church of Weston super Trent. "*Hiis testibus Domino Adam de Brimton', Stephano de Wolaston, Ricardo Sprigurnel, Henrico de Leuedale, Willelmo de la Duue et multis aliis.*" n.d.

1836. Grant by Roger, son of Roger de Kaeureswelle to Adam de Stanlegh. "*Hiis testibus Domino Johanne Trussel, Domino Johanne de Suwynerthon', Simone de Congreue, Johanne, domino de Wiston', Adam Henry de Stretthon', Willelmo Hanry de Stretton', Rogero de Gaywode' clerico, et aliis.*" n.d. Seal.

THINGWALL (co. Chester).

1837. Grant by William Wilbraham of Thyngwall to William de Stanley, kt., and Edmund, his son, of lands, etc., in Cheshire. Jan 13, 1415. Seal.

1838. Powers of attorney from the same to John Dogynton to deliver seisin to the same. Jan. 14, 1415.

1839. Grant by Richard Coly, son of Thomas Coly of Thynghwall, to Richard Wade and John Robynssone of Chylderthornethon of lands in Thynghwall and Pennesby. June 16, 1426. Seal, worn.

THORNTON (co. Chester).

1840. Grant by John, son of Gilbert de Brunburch, to Gene, daughter of Pagan de Thorinthon, of land in Thorinthon, "*quam terram de domino meo Abbate Cestr' tenui.*" "*Hiis testibus Domino Petro, Clerico domini*

Comitis, Alano de Waleya, Alexandro, filio eius, Ricardo Walensi, Ada, fratre suo, Reginaldo de Pulle, Willelmo, fratre eius, Roberto, filio Radulpho de Thorinthon', Willelmo, Ranulpho et Ricardo, fratribus eius, Johanne Deneys, Hugone, filio Reginaldi, Radulpho, filio eius, Simone Clerico et multis aliis." n.d. Seal.

1841. Grant by Matthew, son of Richard, smith of Thornton, to Richard, his father. May 7, 1348.

TRANMERE (co. Chester).

1842. Lease by Ralph Starky of Tranemol to William, son of Henry Walens', 1282.

1843. Lease by Roger de Lethton to William, son of Gilbert de Tranemol. Sept. 29, 1309. Seal, very worn.

1844. Grant by Roger, son of Roger de Leghton, to Richard de Leghton, his brother. Mar. 7, 1336.

1845. Quitclaim by William de Tranemul to John Lassels and Agnes, his mother, wife of Henry de Lithurlond. Jan. 7 (?), 1368.

1846. Lease by John de Leghton to William de Stanley. "*Hiis testibus Roberto de Berneston', Stephano de Merton', Johanne de Berneston'.*" n.d. Seal, imperfect.

UPTON IN WIRRAL (co. Chester).

1847. Translations into English of the following deeds:

(*a*) Grant by Agnes de Upton, widow, daughter of Roger, son of James de Upton, to William, son of William Stanley, kt., of lands in Upton and Saulghom Massye. Nov. 7, 1404.

(*b*) Grant by Peter de Forneby, son of Hugh de Forneby, to William Stanley, kt. (1411/2).

(*c*) Grant by Richard de Capenhurst and Margery, his wife, to William de Hooton. n.d.

(*d*) Grant by Hugh Mavy and Hawisia, his wife, to the same. n.d.

(*e*) Grant by Richard de Hyris (?) of Upton to the same. n.d.

(*f*) Grant by John Spencer, vicar of Backford church, to Richard Moreton of Moreton in Wirhall and Alicia, his wife, of lands, etc., in Moreton and Upton. Sept. 10, 1402.

1848. Assignment by William Stanley of Hooton to Richard Brooke of Christleton, co. Chester, of the rectory and parish church of Upton. June 22, 1658. (Eng.)

1849. Defeasance by Richard Brooke to William Stanley. June 26, 1658. (Eng.)

WEST KIRKBY (co. Chester).

1850. Lease by Thomas, abbot of the monastery of St. Werburgh, Chester, and the convent of the same, to Thomas Birkhened of Chester, of "*a meace or celle called the house of hilbree and the Ile their*," houses, lands,

rights, etc., in the parish of West Kirkby, certain tithe corn and hay in Ireby, in the parish of Wodechurch, the windmill called Ireby Mylne, and of lands, etc., in Ireby. Sept. 10, 1538. Signatures of the abbot and others, and fragment of seal. (Eng.)

WHADDON (co. Gloucester), *see* QUEDGELEY.

WICHMALBANK (NANTWICH, co. Chester).

1851. Quitclaim by Henry de Delves to Robert de Scwynnarton, kt., John de Haukeston, William de Stanley, Henry de Beston', and William de Praers of Badilegh. Oct. 9, 1383. Seal.

WIGAN (co. Lancaster).

1852. Grant by Jordan de Hoton to Adam and John, sons of Richard le Eeir (?). July 13, 1315.

1853. Grant by Robert del Grene to Richard, son of Hugh de Standisshe, and his heirs male, of the manors of Bradelegh and Hepay, and lands, etc., in Standisshe, Worthynton, Dokesbury, Hethchernok, Wygan and Hyndelegh, with reversion to William, son of John de Stanley, and his heirs male. Feb. 5, 1336.

WIRRAL, FOREST OF (co. Chester).

1854. Receipt from Thomas le Yonge, escheator of Cheshire, to William, son of William de Stanley, relating to certain issues of the bailiwick of the forest. May 19, 1361. (French.)

WIRRAL (co. Chester).

1855. Grant by Avilla, widow of Henry Sampson, to William de Stanley of rents in Wyrhale. Mar. 12, 1366. Seal.

WOODCHURCH (co. Chester).

1856. Record of the innocence of Robert Bercar' and Agnes, his wife, of certain accusations brought "*coram Adam le parker Capitale custode advocariarum domini com' Cestr' apud Wodecherch.*" June 11, 1322.

ABBOTSLEY (co. Huntingdon).

1857. Surrender by Ann Day of Hailweston, spinster, to the use of Thomas Hart of Hailweston, yeoman. Oct. 24, 1776. Copy. (Eng.)

ALLENTON (co. Northumberland), *see* ALWINTON.

ALSTONFIELD AND UTTOXETER (co. Stafford).

1858. Indenture tripartite between Edward Edensor of Croxon, co. Derby, John Wheeldon of Fernyfford, and Mary, his wife, of the first part, Richard Cox of Cliffords Inn and George Davenport of Clements Inn of the second part, and Hugh Sheldon of Monyash, co. Derby, and William Gould the younger of Pillsberry Grange, co. Derby, of the third part, relating to lands in Alstonfield and Uttoxeter. May 1, 1719. (Eng.)

1859. Exemplification of a fine between Hugh Sheldon and William Gould, plaintiffs, and Richard Cox and George Davenport. Nov. 28, 1719.

1860. Lease of possession by John Whieldon the elder, of Cronxton Grange to William Gould. Sept. 20, 1733.

1861. Sale and release by the same to the same. Sept. 21, 1733.

1862. Lease by Richard Wheeldon, eldest son of the late John Wheeldon of Cronkstone, Isaac Wheeldon the younger of Buxton, innholder, and Edmund Wheeldon of Buxton, innholder, sons and devisees named in the last will of the said John, to Isaac Wheeldon the elder of Cronkstone and William Bullock of Ashford, Doctor of Physic, trustees and executors named in the said will, of lands, etc., in Fearnyford, par. Alstonefield, Longnor, in the same, Taddington, par. Bakewell, co. Derby., and Upper Foxlow, par. Hartington, co. Derby. Mar. 6, 1783. (Eng.)

1863. Sale and release by the same to the same. Mar. 7, 1783. (Eng.)

1864. Exemplification of a fine between John Allsopp, plaintiff, and John Davys Browne. Feb. 11, 1793. (Eng.)

1865. Indenture quadripartite between Richard Wheeldon of Cronkstone Grange (eldest son of the late John Wheeldon the younger by Margaret, his wife, a daughter of the late Richard Goodwin of Tissington), and Elizabeth, his wife, of the first part, John Davys Browne of Fetter Lane, London, of the second part, John Alsopp of Ashborne, co. Derby, of the third part, and Richard Goodwin of Ashborne of the fourth part, concerning lands, etc., in Kniveton, co. Derby., Uttoxeter, Alstonfield, co. Stafford, and Taddington, co. Derby. April 7, 1793. (Eng.)

ALWINTON (co. Northumberland).

1866. Mortgage deed from Dame Maria Stanley Massey Stanley of Haggerston Castle, co. Durham, widow of Sir Thomas Stanley Massey Stanley, Bt., late of Hooton, formerly Maria Haggerston, spinster, only child of the late Sir Carnaby Haggerston, Bt., and John Massey Stanley of Berkeley Square, Middlesex, third son of the same, to David Veasy of Huntingdon, of lands, etc., in Alwinton and Norham, co. Durham. May 27, 1844. (Eng.)

AMPTHILL (co. Bedford).

1867. Lease by Robert Furze of Ampthill, carpenter and joiner, William Cook of the same, innholder, and Richard Goodman of Flitwick, co. Bedford, miller, to John Benton. June 4, 1827. (Eng.)

1868. Release by the same to the same. June 5, 1827. (Eng.)

1869. Release by John Benton of Great Houghton, co. Northampton, to George Alexander Peppercorn of St. Neots, co. Huntingdon. 1829. Incomplete. (Eng.)

BIGGLESWADE (co. Bedford).

1870. Will of Samuel Foster of Biggleswade, baker. Dec. 23, 1715. Proved April 28 (?), 1720. (Eng.)

BUCKLAND, GREAT (co. Kent.)

1871. Lease by Anne Gillow of Canterbury, spinster, and Christopher Taddy of London, to Edward Matson of Battersea, co. Surrey, of the manor house of Great Buckland and lands, buildings, etc., in the parishes of Buckland, Luddenham, Stone, Norton and Teynham, co. Kent. Oct. 9, 1818. (Eng.)

1872. Lease by the Rev. John Taddy of Northill, co. Bedford, to Thomas Gillow the younger of Buckland, co. Kent. Jan. 20, 1852. (Eng.)

BUCKWORTH (co. Huntingdon).

1873. Lease by Robert Eden Duncomb Shafto, of the manor of Buckworth, to John Horsford of Buckworth, farmer. (Apr. 28), 1812. Incomplete. (Eng.)

BUXTON (co. Derby).

1874. Turnpike securities on Buxton and Chapel en le frith roads, from Henry Kirk, William Gaskell, John Carrington, Joshua Marriott, Francis Marriott, Charles Hadfield and James Nield, trustees, to Isaac Wheeldon of Buxton, innholder. Sept. 29, 1793. (Eng.)

1875. Transfer of similar securities by John Goodwin Johnson, late of Bradborne, now of Fenny Bentley, co. Derby, and Thomas Lomas of Glutton, co. Derby, to John Benton the elder of Northampton. Apr. 29, 1824. (Eng.)

ESTON (?)

1876. Agreement between Maud, daughter of William de la mare, Rayner Le flemi(n)g, Margaret, his wife, and Margery, sister of Maud and Margaret, of the one part, and Sir Geoffrey de Nesvil and Margaret, his wife. (Witnesses) "*Sire brian le fitz Alayn, sire Emund dayncort, sire Roberd de Holand, sire Alayn de peniton, Henri de kirchelay, Thomas banast', Alysandir de kiuirdale, Gilbert le clerk e autris aseez.*" n.d. (French.)

FELMERSHAM (co. Bedford).

1877. Lease by the Hon. Henry Saint John, late of Melchbourn, co. Bedford, now of Kings Street, Covent Garden, London, and Oliver Saint John Cooper of Tilbrook, co. Bedford, clerk, to Thomas Skeggs of Norsted, par. Chelsfield, co. Kent. Jan. 18, 1773. (Eng.)

1878. Settlement and release by the same to the same. Jan. 19, 1773. (Eng.)

1879. Release by the same to the same, etc. Sept. 15, 1781. (Eng.)

FOXLOW (par. Hartington, co. Derby).

1880. Sale by John Dale of Monyash, co. Derby, and Ruth Dale, his mother, to Ralph Needham of Lower Foxlow. Nov. 1, 1695. (Eng.)

1881. Indenture quadripartite between John Stafford of Macclesfield, co. Chester, of the first part, Ralph Needham of Nether Foxlow, eldest son

of the late Edward Needham, yeoman, of the second part, John Dickenson the younger of Taxall, co. Chester, of the third part, and Harry Lankford of the Fence within Hurdsfield, co. Chester, of the fourth part. Dec. 4, 1773. (Eng.)

HAGGERSTON (co. Durham).

1882. Indenture quadripartite between Mary Haggerston of Gravelin and Elizabeth Haggerston of Ponthoise, France, daughters of Sir Carnaby Haggerston, Bt., by Dame Elizabeth, his wife, of the first part, the said Sir Carnaby Haggerston of the second part, Marmaduke Midleton of Stockeld, co. York, of the third part, and William Carr of Ettall, co. Northumberland, of the fourth part. Mar. 20, 1754. (Eng.)

1883. Release by Thomas Haggerston of Ellingham, co. Northumberland, the only younger son and residuary legatee named in the last will of Sir Thomas Haggerston, late of Haggerston, by Dame Mary Haggerston, his wife, to Sir Carnaby Haggerston of Haggerston, eldest son of the said Sir Thomas and Dame Mary, an executor named in the will of Edward Haggerston, late of Ellingham, who was the surviving executor named in the will of the said Sir Thomas. July 1, 1826. (Eng.)

1884. Will of Sir Carnaby Haggerston, Bt., of Haggerston. Feb. 13, 1828. Codicil added April 6, 1829. Proved April 25, 1832. (Eng.)

1885. Will of Frances, Lady Haggerston, of Haggerston Castle. Nov. 6, 1834. Codicil added Mar. 6, 1835. Proved Nov. 21, 1836. (Eng.).

HEADINGTON (co. Oxford).

1886. Lease by Thomas Whorwood of Tackley, co. Oxford, to John Tuttey the younger of Hedington. Apr. 25, 1700. (Eng.)

1887. Lease by Thomas Whorwood of Holton, co. Oxford, to Richard Godfry of Hedington. Aug. 28, 1728. (Eng.)

HOOTON (co. Chester).

1888. Epitome of Sir Thomas Stanley's Will. n.d. (Eng.)

1889. Bill of sale of goods seized under execution of *fieri facias* issued in Ford v. Stanley and Harvey v. Stanley. From Ralph Gerard Leycester, esq., sheriff of Chester. Oct. 16, 1847. (Eng.)

1890. Mortgage by Sir William Thomas Stanley Massey Stanley, Bt., of Hooton, and Dame Maria Massey Stanley of Haggerston, widow of the late Sir Thomas Stanley Massey Stanley, Bt., late of Hooton, to Alan William Hutchinson of Durham. Many Cheshire manors, etc., are referred to here. Dec. 31, 1849. (Eng.)

HORSLEY (co. Derby).

1891. Exemplification of a fine between John Alsopp and John Davys Browne concerning lands, etc., in Horseley, Taddington, Kniveton, and Bakewell. Feb. 11, 1793. Bench seal, broken. (Eng.)

KYLOE AND BERRINGTON (co. Northumberland).

1892. Licence from the Dean and Chapter of Durham to Dame Maria Massey Stanley of Hooton, widow, to assign over certain premises to Alan William Hutchinson of Durham. May 13, 1848. Seal, impressed and paper-covered. (Eng.)

KYLOE, NORHAM, etc. (co. Northumberland).

1893. Final concord between John Weddell, plaintiff, and James Ainsley and Anne, his wife. Feb. 20, 1680.

1894. Final concord between Charles Selby, plaintiff, and Sir Thomas Haggerston, Bt., concerning lands, etc., in Norham, Kyloe, Holy Island, Haggerston, etc. Dec. 15, 1693.

1895. Counterpart of the same.

NEEDHAM, HIGH (co. Derby).

1896. Lease by William Meyland of High Needham to Richard Gratton of Brassington, co. Derby, Thomas Sleigh, son of Ralph Sleigh of Boothlow, par. Sheen, co. Stafford, and Thomas Ward of Sheen. Apr. 12, 1699. (Eng.)

1897. Release by the same to the same, relating to the settlement on the marriage of William Meyland and Sarah, a daughter of Ralph Sleigh of Boothlow. Apr. 13, 1699. (Eng.)

1898. Lease by William Meyland, son of William Meyland, to Grace Taylor, widow of the Rev. William Taylor, late of Horsley. Nov. 22, 1742. (Eng.) Attached is:

1899. Release by the same to the same, etc. Nov. 23, 1742. (Eng.)

1900. Assignment by Thomas Sleigh of Viccarwood, par. Mackworth, co. Derby, to John Radford of Horseley Woodhouse, co. Derby. Nov. 23, 1742. (Eng.)

1901. Assignment by John Radford to John Johnson of Winster, co. Derby, barmaster. Nov. 7, 1749. (Eng.)

1902. Lease by William Meyland, son of the late William Meyland by Sarah, his wife, and Nicholas Twigg of Holme Hall, par. Bakewell, co. Derby, to Francis Green of Clements Inn, co. Middlesex, Nov. 10, 1749. (Eng.)

1903. Exemplification of a fine between Henry Thornhill and Francis Green. Nov. 28, 1749. Seal fragment. (Eng.)

1904. Lease by Nicholas Twigg of Holme Hall, lead merchant, and William Meyland, to the Rt. Hon. George, Lord Anson, Baron of Soberton. June 23, 1751. (Eng.)

1905. Mortgage deed from the same to the same. June 24, 1751. (Eng.)

1906. Assignment by John Johnson of Winster to Thomas Mills of Leek, co. Stafford. June 24, 1751. (Eng.)

1907. Lease by the Rt. Hon. George, Lord Anson, Nicholas Twigg, William Melland and Thomas Melland of Derby, butcher, to Bernard Lucas of Chesterfield, merchant. July 4, 1754. (Eng.)

1908. Assignment by Thomas Mills of Leek to John Burton of Chesterfield, by the direction and appointment of George, Lord Anson, at the special instance and request of William and Thomas Meyland, and at the nomination of Bernard Lucas. July 5, 1754. (Eng.)

1909. Release by George, Lord Anson, etc., to Bernard Lucas. July 5, 1754. (Eng.)

1910. Final agreement between Bernard Lucas, plaintiff, and William Melland, Anne, his wife, and Thomas Melland. Jan. 20, 1755. (Eng.)

1911. Counterpart of the same.

1912. Lease by Thomas Lucas of Chesterfield and Bernard Lucas of the same, merchant, to Margery Lucas, spinster. May 19, 1772. (Eng.)

1913. Assignment by Edward Burton and Ann Burton of Chesterfield to Anthony Lax of Chesterfield. Apr. 5, 1779. (Eng.)

PAXTON, GREAT (co. Huntingdon).

1914. Extracts from proceedings at the view of frankpledge for the manor, held in the court baron of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, before Samuel Pont, deputy steward. Apr. 16, 1675, to May 7, 1680.

1915. Another extract of proceedings before John Thurston, steward. Oct. 22, 1684.

1916. Memorandum of surrender by William Goods, customary tenant, to John Smith of Eynsbury, butcher, and Mary, his wife. Oct. 29, 1692. (Eng.)

1917. Will of Thomas Dalbey of Great Paxton, labourer. Apr. 5, 1695. Proved May 9, 1695. (Eng.)

1918. Surrender by Thomas Dolbey, labourer, William Marshall of Haddenham in the Isle of Ely, bricklayer, and Anne, his wife, surviving granddaughter and legatee of the late Thomas Dolbey, to the use of Thomas Smith of St. Neots. Sept. 7, 1719. Much injured. (Eng.)

1919. Bond of Thomas Dalbey and William Marshall to Thomas Smith. Sept. 7, 1719.

1920. Proceedings in the court baron, relating to Samuel Browne of Kettering, co. Northampton, and Maria, his wife. Nov. 6, 1722.

1921. The same relating to Anna Slater, widow. Nov. 6, 1722.

1922. The same relating to John Slater of Offord Darcey, co. Huntingdon, carpenter, and also to Elizabeth Smith, granddaughter of Thomas Smith of St. Neots, butcher. Nov. 6, 1722.

ROMNEY MARSH (co. Kent.)

1923. Appointment and demise by the Rt. Hon. Francis, Earl of Guilford, to Henry Hinds of Court Lodge Farm, par. Fairfield, Romney Marsh, and Benjamin Wickham of Goudhurst. Oct. 11, 1828. (Eng.)

ST. NEOTS (co. Huntingdon).

1924. Copy of the will of Mary Norman, late of St. Neots, widow. July 8, 1659. Proved Dec. 17, 1659. (Eng.)

1925. Proceedings in the court baron before Robert Pulleyn, deputy steward, relating to Thomas Chase, Matthew Oliver, Samuel Taylor, and William Hetherell. Apr. 17, 1682.

1926. Release by Thomas Brookes of Pentrich, co. Derby, and Susanna, his wife, to Ezekiel Holmes of St. Neots. Feb. 21, 1702/3. (Eng.)

1927. Release by Ezekiel Holmes of St. Neots, barber, to George Tilly of the same, draper. Feb. 11, 1703/4. (Eng.)

1928. Release by Mary Longland, of St. Neots, widow, to John Nicholas of the same, tailor. Sept. 4, 1711. Injured. (Eng.)

1929. Sale by Joseph Boston of St. Neots, glover, to William Barber of the same, glover, and Elizabeth, his wife. Jan. 24, 1714/5. (Eng.)

1930. Indenture between William Barber and Edward Billett the elder of Kimbolton, co. Huntingdon, maltster. Jan. 14, 1731/2. (Eng.)

1931. Lease by Stephen Rolt of Milton, co. Bedford, to William Scarbrowe of St. Neots. June 18, 1735. (Eng.)

1932. Release by Stephen Rolt, clerk, and Elizabeth, his wife, widow of George Tilly of St. Neots, draper, Bromsall Throckmorton of Hemingford Abbotts, co. Huntingdon, Elizabeth, his wife, a daughter of George Tilly, Thomas Walker of Bletsoe, co. Bedford, clerk, Anne, his wife, a daughter of George Tilly, Walter Peck of Hertford and Barbara, his wife, another daughter of George Tilly, to William Scarbrowe. June 19, 1735. (Eng.)

1933. Bond of Francis Bridges, hempdresser, to John Smith, butcher. Mar. 7, 1743/4.

1934. Lease by John Lenton of Fenstanton, co. Huntingdon, schoolmaster, to John Ballmer and Joseph Ballmer, both of Budge Rowe, London, merchants. Apr. 3, 1766. (Eng.)

1935. Release by the same to the same. Apr. 4, 1766. (Eng.)

1936. Bond of the same to the same. Apr. 4, 1766.

SPALDING (co. Lincoln).

1937. Lease by the Rt. Hon. Sampson, Lord Eardley, to Robert Everitt of Spalding, innkeeper, for fourteen years, of the White Hart Inn, Spalding. Feb. 24, 1823. (Eng.)

TEMPSFORD (co. Bedford).

1938. Assignment by John Dennis of London to William Peppercorn of St. Neots, of a mill, etc. Nov. 24, 1828. (Eng.)

TURSDALE (co. Durham).

1939. Exemplification of a fine between Thomas Swinburne, plaintiff, and Bertram Bulmer, kt., and William Bulmer, his son. Aug. 5, 1654. Worn.

TWIZELL (co. Northumberland).

1940. Final concord between Roland Selby and Frances, his wife, plaintiffs, and Dorothea Collingwood, widow. July 1, 1686.

1941. Counterpart of the same. Worn.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1942. A number of business letters mainly addressed to William Peppercorn, Esq., solicitor, St. Neots, between 1821 and 1857, but chiefly in 1840. Also several business documents. 42 in all.

WIGAN (co. Lancs.).

[R. 72175] **1943.** Mandate from the official of the Archdeacon of Chester to the Deans of Leylond, Blakeburn and Weryngton to warn those who had hunted, broken down fences, cut down timber, etc., in William de Faryngton's free park of Faryngton and Laylond that they should give satisfaction within twenty days under penalty of excommunication "*pulsatis campanis, candelis accensis et extinctis ac cruce in manibus erecta.*" Wygan. Mar. 27, 1354. Fragment of seal. Formerly belonged to Dr. William Farrer. Bought at Sotheby's, July 3-5, 1933, Lot No. 465.

[R. 72563] **1944-1953.** Ten miscellaneous deeds.

GARTHORNE (co. Westmorland).

1944. The liberties of the tenants of Garthorne as belonging to the hospital of St. Leonard, York, in a deed from Thomas Magnus, clerk, master of the same, and the brethren of the same. Oct. 20, 1533.

KENDAL (co. Westmorland).

1945. Agreement between Nicholas of Layburne and John of Wesshington relating to the marriage of William, son of the said John, and Mary, daughter of the said Nicholas. Aug. 24, 1447. (Eng.)

NATEBY (co. Lancaster).

1946. Grant by William de Lancastir to Hugh Northeman. "*Hiis testibus Roberto filio Bernardi, Herberto de Ellale, Roberto breton', Waltero filio suani* (?), *Adam dec'* (?), *Willelmo de Kellet, Hailsi de Heton', Roberto de lond', Herui le facuner et aliis.*" n.d.

1947. Another copy of the above.

1948. Quitclaim by John, son of John de Riggemeyden, to William de Horneby, Alicia, his wife, and Lawrence, son of Thomas Trauers. June 20, 1322.

PATTON, etc. (co. Westmorland).

1949. Agreement between William Thornbrugh and Thomas Layburne, concerning land which Thomas lately held to farm of Roger Godson, lately prior of Conyshed, and tenements, etc., in Whyffetl' (?), called Colthowse, Skelmser, Crostwate, and Langsleddell. Jan. 9, 1492. (Eng.)

PLYMTREE (co. Devon).

1950. Bond of Richard Forde of Plimtree to John Everie of Brodewaie, co. Somerset. Aug. 11, 1590.

SKELSMERGH (co. Westmorland).

1951. Grant and confirmation by Edward I, King of England, to Nicholas de Leyburne of free warren in Skelmesergh in Kendale. "*Hiis testibus Johanne de Warenna, comite Surr', Ademaro de Valenc(. . .) (. . . . . .) enna, Hugone Le Despens', Hugone de Veer, Willelmo de Leyburne, Willelmo Le Latimer seniore, Waltero de Bellocampo, senescallo hospicii nostri et aliis. Datum per manum nostram apud Lynbiscu vicesimo secundo die Novembr' anno regni nostri Tricesimo. Ayrem'.*" Large fragment of Great Seal.

1952. Lease by the abbot and convent of St. Mary's abbey, York, to James Layburne of the tithe corn of Skelmyssergh, Bradeleyfeld, Tranthwate, Connyswik, Bulmerstrande, Bradesl(ake), and Brindrige. June 26, 1535. (Eng.)

SKIRWITH (co. Cumberland).

1953. Award made by Anthony Middelton of Kepeyeare, co. Durham, and Michael Crakenthroppe, clerk, parson of Kyrkbythore, co. Westmorland, between Henry Crakynthroppe of Newbyggyn, co. Westmorland, esq., and Cecily Middelton, late wife of Ambrose Middelton of Skyrwith. Mar. 6, 1558.

[R. 72654-6] **1954-1956.** Three dèeds acquired together with English MS. 737.

HAPTON (co. Lancs.).

1954. Assignment by Charles Townley of Townley, co. Lancaster, Sir William Thorold of Marston, co. Lincoln, kt., and William Blyth of Strawston, co. Lincoln, to Henry Crispe of Seaton, co. Rutland. Jan. 9, 1634. (Eng.)

STANSFIELD (co. York).

1955. Sale by Charles Radclyff of Todmerden, co. Lancs., and Henry Radclyff of Meareley, his son, to John Grenewode of Stancefeld, son of the late Richard Grenewode, May 19, 1569.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1956. Pardon by George II, King of England, to Peregrine Widdrington. July 19, 1736. (Eng.)

[R. 72738] **1957-2011.** Miscellaneous deeds mainly relating to Lancashire.

BURY (co. Lancaster).

1957. Grant by Alexander Warde, Roger Brownelowe, William Radcliffe, kt., Robert Langley, esq., William Langley, clerk, and William Stanley the

younger, at the request of Robert Holte of Stubley and Robert Holte the younger, his kinsman and heir, and by the advice of Andrew Barton of Smethils, co. Lancaster, to Thomas Holte, kt., Robert Assheton, clerk, Edmund Hopwood, esq., and Roger Gartsyde of an annuity from rents of property in Honerffeld, Spotland, Castelton, Burye and Totyngton, co. Lancaster. Sept. 22, 1544.

CASTLETON (co. Lancaster).

1958. Indenture between Thurstan Tyldysley of Wordley in Worsley, co. Lancaster, Hugh Tyldysley, his brother, and Thurstan Barton of Graies Inne, co. Middlesex, of the one part, and Richard Radclyffe of Langley, co. Lancaster, and Owen Radclyffe, his son, of the other part, relating to lands, etc., in Marland, and in Castelton and Spoteland, co. Lancaster. Feb. 17, 1565. (Eng.)

COLNE (co. Lancaster).

1959. Lease by Robert Dalton of Thurneham to Thomas Towneley of Grenefelde, co. Lancaster, and Lucy, his wife, of rights in Colne mills, etc. June 28, 1573. Seal. (Eng.)

CROSBY, LITTLE (co. Lancaster).

1960. Bond of Margaret Madocke of Hindley, widow, to Peter Henrison, or Harrison, of Westhaughton. Mar. 12, 1588.

DALTON (near Huddersfield, co. York).

1961. Grant by John Savile of Wathe, co. York, and Bernard Towneley of Hyrstwodde, co. Lancaster, to Thomas Kilner of Dalton, co. York. Dec. 9, 1572.

HARDSHAW (co. Lancaster).

1962. Certificate of the marriage of Jonathan Binns of Liverpool and Jane Cropper of Winstanley, co. Lancaster, solemnised in the Quaker Meeting House in Hardshaw. Nov. 17, 1790. (Eng.)

HINDLEY (co. Lancaster).

1963. Lease by Abraham Langton of the Lowe in Hindley and Philip Langton, his son, to William Swift of Hindley. Mar. 22, 1668/9. (Eng.)

MANCHESTER (co. Lancaster).

1964. Will of Ottiwell Kershaw of Manchester, woollen draper. July 1, 1791. Probate. Mar. 27, 1797. (Eng.)

MUCHLAND (co. Lancaster).

1965. Record of court leet concerning Richard Gardner. May 13, 1625.

1966. The same concerning William Bachouse of Leece, and James, his son. Mar. 30, 1650. (Eng.)

1967. The same concerning the same and Jenet, his wife. Mar. 30, 1650. (Eng.)

1968. The same concerning James Bachouse, son of the late William Bachouse. April 20, 1653. (Eng.)

1969. The same concerning Francis Backhouse of Leece and Robert, his son. Mar. 6, 1660/1. (Eng.)

1970. The same concerning George Gardner of Leece and Thomas Dobson. Oct. 9, 1661. (Eng.)

1971. The same concerning William Gardner of Leece, Margaret, his wife, and Robert Backhouse. Oct. 18, 1662. (Eng.)

1972. The same concerning William Gardner, Margaret, his wife, and Thomas Dobson. Oct. 18, 1662. (Eng.)

1973. The same concerning William Gardner, Margaret, his wife, Elizabeth, her mother, and Francis Backhouse. Oct. 25 (?), 1662. (Eng.) Torn.

1974. The same concerning William Gardner, Margaret, his wife, and Thomas Dobson. Jan 15, 1665/6. (Eng.)

1975. The same concerning the same. Jan. 15, 1665/6.

1976. The same concerning Thomas Briggs of Holebecke, Elizabeth, his wife, and Thomas Dobson of Leece. Sept. 27, 1672.

1977. The same concerning Richard Han, son of the late Francis Han. Feb. 25, 1674/5.

1978. The same concerning Richard Simpson, Frances, his wife, and Thomas Dobson. May 29, 1675.

1979. The same concerning William Penny of Leece, Ann, his wife, and Robert Bacchouse. June 10, 1679. (Eng.)

1980. The same concerning William Penny, Ann, his wife, and Thomas Dobson. Feb. 25, 1679/80.

1981. The same concerning the same. Oct. 8, 1680. (Eng.)

1982. The same concerning Richard Danson, late of Gleaston, Bridget, his wife, and Thomas Dobson. Jan. 3, 1680/1.

1983. The same concerning William Penny, Ann, his wife, and James Bacchouse of Leece. Feb. 1, 1681/2.

1984. The same concerning John Chamber the elder of Roosebecke and Thomas Dobson. Jan 12, 1682/3.

1985. The same concerning James Robinson of Gleaston and William Bacchouse of Leece. Jan. 12, 1684/5.

1986. The same concerning William Penny, Ann, his wife, and Thomas Dobson. Jan. 22, 1686/7.

1987. The same concerning Elizabeth Chambers of Gleaston, Jane Chambers, widow, and William Bacchouse. Jan. 8, 1691/2.

1988. The same concerning James Chamber and Thomas Dobson. Oct. 29, 1694.

1989. The same concerning John Han of Roosebeck and James Backhouse. Feb. 6, 1696/7.

1990. The same concerning William Danson of Moorehouse, Ann, his wife, and William Backhouse. Jan. 23, 1699/1700. (Eng.)

1991. The same concerning William Backhouse, son of the late James Backhouse. May 10, 1700.

1992. The same concerning Lawrence Leece of Roosbeck and William Backhouse the elder. Nov. 24, 1711. (Eng.)

NEWTON CUM SCALES (co. Lancaster).

1993. Lease by Robert Westby of Mowbrecke, co. Lancaster, to Richard Davis of Euxton and Richard Hornby of Newton cum Scales, for rents, boons, etc. May 1, 1729. (Eng.)

PRESTON (co. Lancaster).

1994. Grant and sale by George Syngleton of Methop, co. Lancaster, to Ralph Dawson and Henry Hogekynson of Preston in Amounderness, mercers, of lands, etc., in Preston and Fishwick. June 25, 1543.

1995. Sale by Robert Dawson of Preston in Amounderness, goldsmith, to William Hodgkinsone the elder of the same, draper. Feb. 1, 1577. (Eng.)

1996. Bond of William Banaster of Preston, draper, to William Hodgekinson, the elder. Apr. 12, 1580.

1997. Will of Thomas Heskethe the elder of Preston in Amounderness, shoemaker. Aug. 10, 1580. Probate, July 23, 1581.

1998. Lease by the Mayor, bailiffs and burgesses of Preston in Amounderness to James Dyke of Preston, dyer. Apr. 29, 1596. Seal of Preston, slightly imperfect. (Eng.)

1999. Lease by Henry Hodgkinson of Preston, draper, to Michael Highame of Preston, shearman. Jan. 20, 1610. (Eng.)

2000. Grant by John Barcrofte of Park House near Bradford, co. York, and Henry Breres of Preston to John Welshman of Preston, chapman. Jan. 7, 1612. (Eng.)

2001. Sale by Henry Lussell of Osbaldeston, co. Lancaster, and Thomas Lussell, his son, to Henry Hodgkinson of Preston. Apr. 13, 1615. (Eng.)

2002. Bond of the same to the same. Apr. 13, 1615.

2003. Sale by William Hodgkinson the elder of Preston to William Critchlaw of Lea, co. Lancaster. Aug. 26, 1633. Worn. (Eng.)

2004. Sale by John Wall of Preston to Thomas Assheton and William Shawe of Preston. Aug. 20, 1641. (Eng.)

2005. Lease by Thomas Pigot of the Inner Temple, London, son of the late George Pigot of Manchester, to Francis Pigot, clerk, Elizabeth Pigot, Mary Pigot, Lucy Pigot and Katherine Pigot, spinsters, brother and sisters of the said Thomas. Oct. 9, 1722. (Eng.)

2006. Bond of Richard Turner of Fishwick to Ann Spyers of Isleworth, co. Middlesex, widow. May 3, 1738. (Eng.)

SALFORD (co. Lancaster).

2007. Lease by the Rt. Hon. Charles, Earl of Derby, etc., to Samuel Dickenson of Manchester, fustianman, and Philip Stamp of Manchester, innkeeper. Aug. 16, 1671. (Eng.)

SMITHHILLS (co. Lancaster).

2008. Lease for a year by the Rt. Hon. Thomas, Lord Fauconberg, and the Rt. Hon. the Lady Mary, his wife, to Sir William Frankland of Thirkleby, co. York, Bt., and Sir Thomas Slingsby of Redhouse, co. York, Bt., of the manors or lordships of Smithells, Tingreave or Tangrave, Oswaldtwisle, Blackburne cum Bradworth, or Beardworth, and Quarton, with appurtenances in Lancashire, and lands, etc., in the same and in Edgworth, Hallywell, or Hallywall, Eccleston, Ramsgrave, or Romesgrave, Horwich, Sharples, Fowles, Lostock, Wigan, Bolton in the Moores, Beardshawe, Ulneswalton, Witton and Turton, co. Lancaster. Jan. 17, 1678/9. (Eng.)

URMSTON (co. Lancaster).

2009. Sale by John Hyde of Urmston to Richard Jones of Urmston. Oct. 26, 1611.

WESHAM, MEDLAR WITH (co. Lancaster).

2010. Lease by Robert Browninge of Wesham to Edmund Fleetwood of the same. Oct. 30, 1674. (Eng.)

2011. Lease by John Westby of Burn Hall, co. Lancaster, to Daniel Lawson of Cornall Roe, co. Lancs. Nov. 2, 1721. (Eng.)

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